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H. Gravelot inv. et delin.

J.P.L. Pas Sculp.

DANIEL explaining the Hand Writing on the Wall.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

BY MR. ROLLIN,

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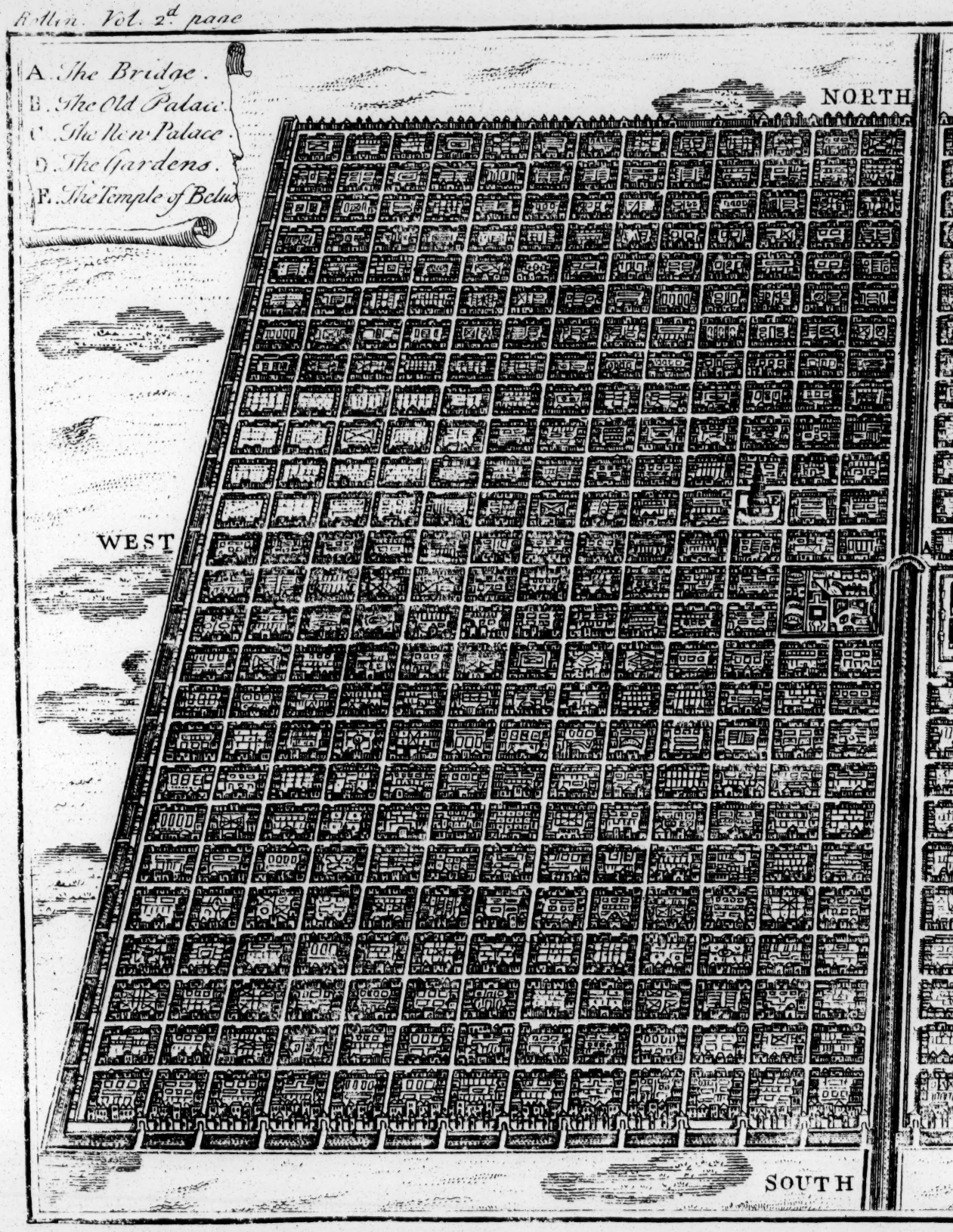
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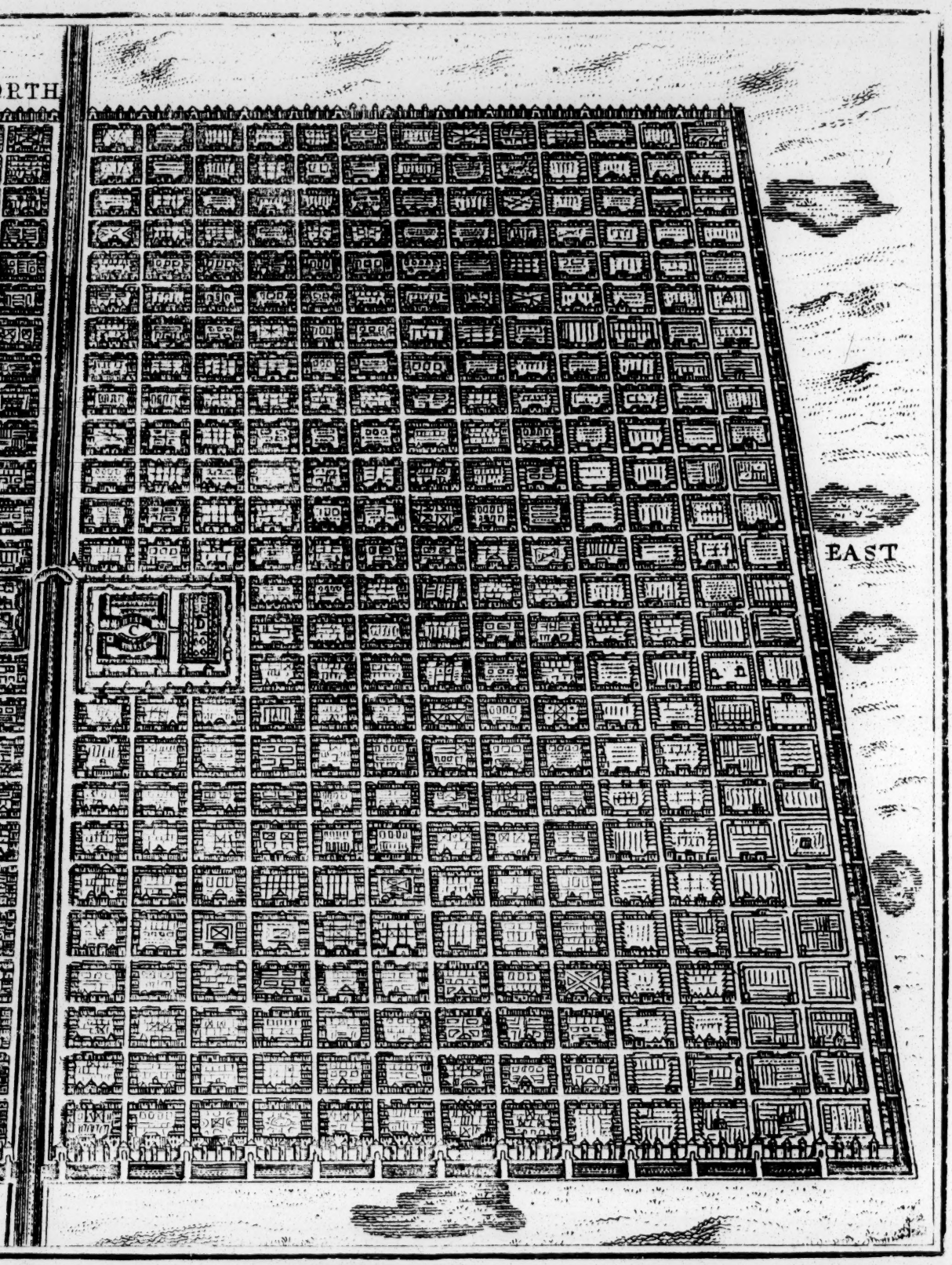
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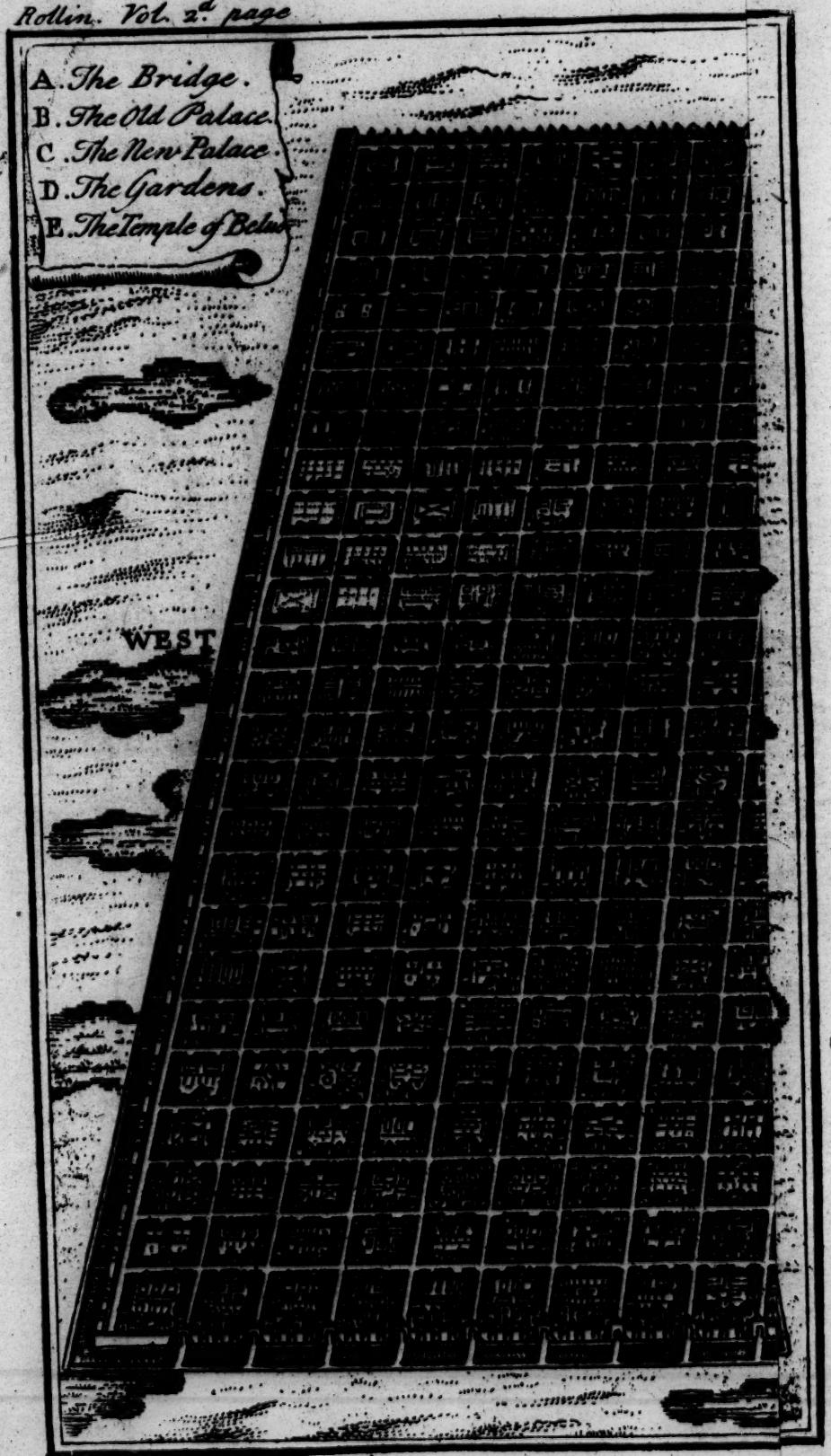


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BOOK THE SECOND, CONTINUED.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CARTHAGINIANS.

SECT. II. *Diſſenſions between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa, King of Numidia.*

AMONG the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which imported, that they ſhould reſtore to Maſiniſſa all the territories and cities he poſſeſſed before the war; and further, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had ſhown with regard to the Romans, had added to his dominions thoſe of Syphax. This preſently afterwards gave riſe to diſputes and quarrels between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

Theſe two princes, Syphax and Maſiniſſa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The ſubjects of Syphax were called Maſæſuli, and their capital was Cirtha. Thoſe of Maſiniſſa were the Maſſyli: but both theſe nations are better known by the name of Numidians, which was common to them. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in their cavalry. They always rid without ſaddles, and ſome even without bridles, whence * Virgil called them *Numidæ infræni*,

[b] In the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, Syphax ſiding with the Romans, Gala, the father of Maſiniſſa, to check the career of ſo powerful a neighbour, thought it his intereſt to join the Carthaginians, and accordingly ſent out againſt Syphax a powerful army under the conduct of his ſon, at that time but ſeventeen years of age. Syphax being over-

[b] Liv. l. xxiv. n. 48, 49. * Æn. l. iv. ver. 41.

come in a battle, in which it is ſaid he loſt thirty thouſand men, eſcaped into Mauritania. However the face of things was afterwards greatly changed.

[c] Maſiniſſa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin; being driven from his kingdom by an uſurper; purſued warmly by Syphax; in danger every inſtant of falling into the hands of his enemies; deſtitute of forces, money, and almoſt all things. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the friend of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. His misfortunes would not permit him to bring great ſuccours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Maſiniſſa joined him with a few horſe, and from that time was attached inviolably to the Roman intereſt. [d] Syphax, on the contrary, having married the famous Sophoniſba, daughter of Aſdrubal, went over to the Carthaginians.

[e] The fate of theſe two princes now changed once for all. Syphax loſt a great battle, and was taken alive by the enemy. Maſiniſſa, the victor, beſieged Cirtha, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophoniſba, whoſe charms and endearments he was unable to reſiſt. To ſecure this princeſs to himſelf, he married her; but a few days after, he was obliged to ſend her a doſe of poiſon, as her nuptial preſent; this being the only way left him to keep his promiſe with his queen, and preſerve her from the power of the Romans.

This was a conſiderable error in itſelf, and which muſt neceſſarily diſoblige a nation that was ſo jealous of its authority: but this young prince repaired it gloriouſly by the ſignal ſervices he afterwards did Scipio. [f] We obſerved, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were beſtowed upon him; and that the Carthaginians were forced to reſtore all he poſſeſſed before. This gave riſe to the diviſions we are now going to relate.

[g] A territory ſituated towards the ſea-ſide, near the leſſer Syrtis, was the ſubject of theſe conteſts. The country was

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 29—34.
[d] Ibid. l. xxix. n. 23.
[e] Idem, l. xxx. n. 11, 12.
[f] Ibid. n. 44.
[g] Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 62.

very rich, and the ſoil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis (only) which belonged to that territory, paid daily a talent to the Carthaginians, by way of tribute. Maſiniſſa had ſeized part of this territory. Each ſide diſpatched deputies to Rome, to plead the cauſe of their ſuperiors before the ſenate. This aſſembly thought proper to ſend Scipio Africanus, with two other commiſſioners, to examine the controverſy upon the ſpot. However, they returned without coming to any reſolution, and left the buſineſs in the ſame uncertain ſtate in which they had found it. Poſſibly they had acted in this manner by order of the ſenate, and had received private inſtructions to favour Maſiniſſa, who was then poſſeſſed of the diſtrict in queſtion.

[h] Ten years after new commiſſioners having been appointed to examine the ſame affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole affair undetermined. A. M. 3823. A. Rom. 567.

[i] After the like diſtance of time, the Carthaginians again brought their complaint to the ſenate, but with greater importunity than before. They repreſented, that beſides the lands at firſt conteſted, Maſiniſſa had, during the two preceding years, diſpoſſeſſed them of upwards of ſeventy towns and caſtles. That their hands were bound up by the article of the laſt treaty, which forbad their making war upon any of the allies of the Romans; that they could no longer bear the inſolence, the avarice, and cruelty of that prince: that they were deputed to Rome with three requeſts (which they deſired might be immediately complied with) *viz.* either to get orders to have the affair examined and decided by the ſenate: or, ſecondly, that they might be permitted to repel force by force, and defend themſelves by arms; or laſtly, that, if favour was to prevail over juſtice, they then entreated the Romans to ſpecify, once for all, which of the Carthaginian lands they were deſirous ſhould be veſted in Maſiniſſa, that they, by this means might hereafter know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would have ſome regard to them, at a time that this prince ſet no other bounds to his pretenſions, but his inſatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beſeeching the Romans, that if the Carthaginians had been guilty of any crimes (with regard to them) A. M. 3833. A. Rom. 577.

[h] Liv. l. xl. n. 17. [i] Id. l. xlii. n. 23, 24.

ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace, that they themſelves would puniſh them for it; and not give them to the wild caprice of a prince, by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives inſupportable. After ending their ſpeech, being pierced with grief, they fell proſtrate upon the earth, and burſt into tears; a ſpectacle that moved all who were preſent to compaſſion, and raiſed a violent hatred againſt Maſiniſſa. Guluſſa his ſon, who was then preſent, being aſked what he had to reply; he anſwered, that his father had not given him any inſtructions, not knowing that any thing would be laid to his charge. He only deſired the ſenate to reflect, that the circumſtance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians, was, the inviolable fidelity with which he had always been attached to them. The ſenate, after hearing both ſides, anſwered, that they were inclined to do juſtice to that party to whom it was due: that Guluſſa ſhould ſet out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded to ſend deputies with thoſe of Carthage: that they would do all that lay in their power to ſerve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians: that it was but juſt the ancient limits ſhould be preſerved; and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans, to have the Carthaginians diſpoſſeſſed, during the peace, of thoſe territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty. The deputies of both powers were then diſmiſſed with the uſual preſents.

[k] But all theſe aſſurances were but mere words. It is plain that the Romans did not once endeavour to ſatisfy the Carthaginians, or do them the leaſt juſtice; and that they ſpun out the buſineſs, on purpoſe to give Maſiniſſa an opportunity to eſtabliſh in his uſurpation, and weaken his enemies.

A. M. 3848. A. Rom. 592. [l] A new deputation was ſent to examine the affair upon the ſpot, and Cato was one of the commiſſioners. On their arrival, they aſked the parties if they were willing to abide by their determination. Maſiniſſa readily complied. The Carthaginians, anſwered, that they had fixed a rule to which they adhered, and that this was the treaty which had been concluded by Scipio, and deſired that their cauſe might

[k] Polyb. p. 951. [l] App. de bell. Pun. p. 37.

be examined with all poſſible rigour. They therefore could not come to any deciſion. The deputies viſited all the country, and found it in a very good condition, eſpecially the city of Carthage: and they were ſurpriſed to ſee it, after being involved in ſuch a calamity, again raiſed to ſo exalted a pitch of power and grandeur. The ſenate was told of this, immediately on the return of the deputies; and declared Rome could never be in ſafety, ſo long as Carthage ſhould ſubſiſt. From this time, whatever affair was debated in the ſenate, Cato always added the following words to his opinion, *I conclude that Carthage ought to be deſtroyed.* This grave ſenator did not give himſelf the trouble to prove, that bare jealouſy of the growing power of a neighbouring ſtate is a warrant ſufficient for deſtroying a city contrary to the faith of treaties. But Scipio Naſica was of opinion, that the ruin of this city would draw after it that of their commonwealth; becauſe that the Romans, having then no rival to fear, would quit the ancient ſeverity of their manners, and abandon themſelves to luxury and pleaſures, the never failing ſubverters of the moſt flouriſhing empires.

[m] In the mean time diviſions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, being now become ſuperior to that of the grandees and ſenators, ſent forty citizens into baniſhment; and bound the people by an oath, never to ſuffer the leaſt mention to be made of recalling thoſe exiles. They withdrew to the court of Maſiniſſa, who diſpatched Guluſſa and Miſipſa, his two ſons, to Carthage, to ſolicit their return. However, the gates of the city were ſhut againſt them, and one of them was cloſely purſued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic. This gave occaſion to a new war, and accordingly armies were levied on both ſides. A battle was fought; and the younger Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was ſpectator of it. He had been ſent from Lucullus in Spain, under whom Scipio then fought to Maſiniſſa, to deſire ſome elephants from that monarch. During the whole engagement, he ſtood upon a neighbouring hill; and was ſurpriſed to ſee Maſiniſſa, then eighty-eight years of age, mounted (agreeably to the cuſtom of his country) on a horſe without a ſaddle; flying from rank to rank like a

[m] App. p. 38.

young officer, and ſuſtaining the moſt arduous toils. The fight was very obſtinate, and continued all day, but at laſt the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio uſed to ſay afterwards, that he had been preſent at many battles, but at none with ſo much pleaſure as this; having never before beheld ſo formidable an army engage, without any danger or trouble to himſelf. And being very converſant in the writings of Homer, he added, that, till his time, there were but two more who had been ſpectators of ſuch an action, *viz.* Jupiter from mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy. I know not whether the ſight of a hundred thouſand men (for ſo many there were) butchering one another, can adminiſter a real pleaſure; or whether ſuch a pleaſure is conſiſtent with the ſentiments of humanity, ſo natural to mankind.

[n] The Carthaginians, after the battle was over, entreated Scipio to terminate their conqueſts with Maſiniſſa. Accordingly he heard both parties, and the Carthaginians conſented to yield up the territory of Emporium *, which had been the firſt cauſe of their diviſion; to pay Maſiniſſa two hundred talents of ſilver down, and eight hundred more, at ſuch times as ſhould be agreed, but Maſiniſſa inſiſting on the return of the exiles, they did not come to any deciſion. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and returned thanks to Maſiniſſa, ſet out with the elephants, for which he had been ſent.

[o] The king, immediately after the battle was over, had blocked up the enemy's camp which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor proviſions could come to them. During this interval, there arrived deputies from Rome, with orders from the ſenate to decide the quarrel,

[n] App. de bell. Pun. p 40. [o] Ibid.

* The Emporium, or Emporia, was a country of Africa, on the Leſſer Syrtis, in which Leptis ſtood. No part of the Carthaginian dominions was more fruitful than this. Polybius, l. i. ſays, that the revenue that aroſe from this place, was ſo conſiderable, that all their hopes were almoſt founded on it, ἐν αἷς (*viz.* their revenues from Emporia) εἶχον αἱ μεγίσταις ἐλπίδας. To this was owing their care and ſtate jealouſy above mentioned, leſt the Romans ſhould ſail beyond the fair Promontory, that lay before Carthage, and become acquainted with a country which might induce them to attempt the conqueſt of it.

in caſe the king ſhould be defeated; otherwiſe to leave it undetermined, and to give the king the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the continuation of their friendſhip; and this they did. In the mean time, the famine daily increaſed in the enemy's camp, which being heightened by the plague, occaſioned a new calamity, and made dreadful havoc. Being now reduced to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered to Maſiniſſa, promiſing to deliver up the deſerters, to pay him five thouſand talents of ſilver in fifty years, and reſtore the exiles, notwithſtanding their oaths to the contrary. They all ſubmitted to the ignominious ceremony of paſſing under the yoke*, and were diſmiſſed, with only one ſuit of clothes for each. Guluſſa, to ſatiate his vengeance for the ill treatment, as we before obſerved, he had met with; ſent out againſt them a body of cavalry, whom, from their great weakneſs, they could neither eſcape nor reſiſt. So that of fifty-eight thouſand men, very few returned to Carthage.

The third Punic War.

The third Punic war, which was leſs conſiderable than either of the former, with regard to the number and greatneſs of the battles, and its continuance, which was only four years, was ſtill more remarkable with reſpect to the ſucceſs and event of it, as it ended in the total ruin and deſtruction of Carthage. A. M. 3855. A Carth. 697. A. Rom. 599. Ant. J. C. 149.

[p] The inhabitants of it, from their laſt defeat, knew what they might naturally fear from the Romans, from whom they had always met with the moſt rigorous treatment after they had addreſſed them upon their deputies with Maſiniſſa. To prevent the conſequences of it, the Carthaginians, by a decree of the ſenate, impeached Aſdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander† of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high treaſon, for being the

[p] Appian, p. 41, 42.

* *Ils furent tous paſſés ſous le joug: Sub jugum miſſi;* a kind of gallows (made by two forked ſticks, ſtanding upright) was erected, and a ſpear laid acroſs, under which vanquiſhed enemies were obliged to paſs. Festus.

† The foreign forces were commanded by leaders of their reſpective nations, who were all under the command of a Carthaginian officer, called by Appian, Βοιθαρχος.

author of the war againſt the king of Numidia. They then ſent a deputation to Rome, to enquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was deſired of them. The deputies were coldly anſwered, that it was the buſineſs of the ſenate and people of Carthage to know what ſatisfaction was due to the Romans. [q] A ſecond deputation bringing them no clearer anſwer, they fell into the greateſt dejection; and being ſeized with the ſtrongeſt terrors, upon recollecting their paſt ſufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and imagined to themſelves all the diſmal conſequences of a long ſiege and of a city taken ſword in hand.

[r] In the mean time, the ſenate debated at Rome, on the meaſures it would be proper for them to take; and the diſputes between Cato and Scipio Naſica, who were of a quite different opinion on this ſubject, were renewed. The former, on his return from Africa, had declared in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he had not found Carthage exhauſted of men or money, nor in that weak and humble ſtate, as the Romans ſuppoſed it to be; but, on the contrary, that it was crowded with vigorous young men, abounded with immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, and prodigious magazines of arms and all warlike ſtores; and was ſo haughty and confident on account of this force, that their hopes and ambition had no bounds. It is further ſaid, that after he had ended his ſpeech, he threw, out of the lappet of his robe, in the midſt of the ſenate, ſome African figs; and as the ſenators admired their beauty and ſize, "[s] Know," ſays he, "that it is but three days ſince theſe figs were gathered. Such is the diſtance between the enemy and us.

[t] Cato and Naſica had each of them their reaſons for voting as they did. Naſica, obſerving that the people roſe to ſuch a height of inſolence, as threw them into exceſſes of every kind; that their proſperity had ſwelled them with a pride which the ſenate itſelf was not able to check; and that their power was become ſo enormous, that they were able to draw the city, by force, into every bad deſign they might undertake; Naſica, I ſay, obſerving this, was deſirous

[q] Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 252.
[r] Plut. in vit. Cat. p. 352.
[s] Plin. l. xv. c. 1 1.
[t] Plut. ibid. in vit. Cat.

that they ſhould continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this might ſerve as a curb to reſtrain their audacious conduct. For it was his opinion that the Carthaginians were too weak to ſubdue the Romans; and, at the ſame time, ſo powerful, that it was not for the intereſt of the Romans, to conſider them in a contemptible light. With regard to Cato, he thought, that as his countrymen were become haughty and inſolent by ſucceſs, and plunged headlong into diſſolution of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous, than for it to have a rival city (to whom the Romans were odious); a city that, till now, had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wiſe and provident than ever; and, therefore, that it would not be ſafe to remove the fears of the inhabitants entirely with regard to a foreign power; ſince they had, within their own walls, all the opportunities for indulging themſelves in exceſſes of every kind.

To lay aſide, for one inſtant, the laws of equity, I leave the reader to determine, which of theſe two great men reaſoned moſt juſtly, according to the maxims of ſound policy, and the true intereſt of a ſtate. One undoubted circumſtance is, that all hiſtorians have obſerved, that there was a ſenſible change in the conduct and government of the Romans, immediately after the ruin of Carthage*: that vice no longer made its way into Rome with a timorous pace, and as it were by ſtealth, but appeared barefaced, and ſeized, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, all orders of the republic; that ſenators, plebeians, in a word, all conditions abandoned themſelves to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, without having the leaſt regard to, or ſenſe of decency, which occaſioned, as it muſt neceſſarily, the ruin of the ſtate. "The firſt Scipio†," ſays Paterculus, ſpeaking of the Romans, "had

**Ubi Carthago, et æmula imperii Romani ab ſtirpe interiit, Fortuna ſævire ac miſcere omnia cœpit.* SALLUST. in bell. Catalin.

Ante Carthaginem deletam populus et ſenatus Romanus placide modeſteque inter ſe Remp. tractabant—Metus hoſtilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus deceſſit, iliret ea, quæ ſecundæ res amant, laſcivia atque ſuperbia inceſſere. Idem. in bello Jugurthino.

† *Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ poſterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, ſublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, ſed præcipiti curſu a virtute deſcitum, ad vitia tranſcurſum.* VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 1.

laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the laſt, by his conqueſts, had opened a door to all manner of luxury and diſſoluteneſs. For after Carthage, which obliged Rome to ſtand for ever on its guard, by diſputing empire with that city, had been totally deſtroyed; the depravity of manners was no longer ſlow in its progreſs, but ſwelled at once into the utmoſt exceſs of corruption."

"Be this as it will, the ſenate reſolved to declare war againſt the Carthaginians; and the reaſons or pretences urged for it were, their keeping up ſhips, contrary to the tenor of treaties; their ſending an army out of their territories againſt a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whoſe ſon they treated ill, at the time he was accompanied by a Roman ambaſſador.

A. M. 3855. A. Rom. 600. [x] An event, that chance occaſioned very fortunately, at the time that the ſenate of Rome was debating on the affair of Carthage, contributed, doubtleſs, very much to make them take that reſolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to ſurrender up themſelves, their effects, their lands, and their city, into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably. Utica was the ſecond city of Africa, vaſtly rich, and had an equally ſpacious and commodious port; it ſtood within ſixty furlongs of Carthage, ſo that it might ſerve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now heſitated no longer, but proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcius Cenſorinus, the two conſuls, were deſired to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible. They had ſecret orders from the ſenate, not to end the war, but by the deſtruction of Carthage. The conſuls immediately left Rome, and ſtopped at Lilybæum in Sicily They had a conſiderable fleet, on board of which were fourſcore thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe.

[y] The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the reſolutions which had been taken at Rome. The anſwer brought back by their deputies, had only increaſed their fears, *viz.* "It was the buſineſs of the Carthaginians, to conſider what ſatisfaction was due to them*." This made

[x] App. p. 42. [x] App. bell. Pun. p. 42. [y] Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

* To the Romans.

them not know what courſe to take. At laſt, they ſent new deputies, whom they inveſted with full powers to act as they ſhould ſee fitting; and even (what the former wars could never make them ſtoop to) to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themſelves, and all they poſſeſſed, to the will and pleaſure of the Romans. This, according to the import of the clauſe, *ſe ſuaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was ſubmitting themſelves, without reſerve, to the power of the Romans, and becoming their vaſſals. Nevertheleſs, they did not expect any great ſucceſs from this condeſcenſion, though ſo very mortifying; becauſe, as the Uticans had been before hand with them on that occaſion, this had deprived them of the merit of a ready and voluntary ſubmiſſion.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was ſet out. The Romans had diſpatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the ſenate; and to inform that city, that the Roman fleet was ſailed. The deputies had therefore no time for deliberation, but delivered up themſelves, and all they poſſeſſed, to the Romans. In conſequence of this behaviour, they were anſwered, that ſince they had at laſt taken a right ſtep, the ſenate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other poſſeſſions, whether public or private, provided that, within the ſpace of thirty days, they ſhould ſend (as hoſtages to Lilybæum) three hundred young Carthaginians of the firſt diſtinction, and comply with the orders of the conſuls. This laſt condition filled them with inexpreſſible anxiety: but the concern they were under would not allow them to make the leaſt reply, or to demand an explication; nor indeed would it have been to any purpoſe. They therefore ſet out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embaſſy.

[z] All the articles of the treaty were extremely ſevere with regard to the Carthaginians, but the ſilence of the Romans, with reſpect to the cities, of which no notice was taken in the conceſſions which that people was willing to make, perplexed them exceedingly. But all they had to do was to obey. After the many former and recent loſſes the Cartha-

[z] Polyb. excerpt. legat. p. 972.

ginians had ſuſtained they were by no means in a condition to reſiſt ſuch an enemy, ſince they had not been able to oppoſe Maſiniſſa. Troops, proviſions, ſhips, allies, in a word, every thing was wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the reſt.

They did not think it proper to wait till the thirty days which had been allowed them were expired, but immediately ſent their hoſtages, in order to ſoften the enemy, by the readineſs of their obedience, though they durſt not flatter themſelves with the hopes of meeting with favour on this occaſion. Theſe hoſtages were in a manner the flower, and the only hopes of the nobleſt families of Carthage. No ſpectacle was ever more moving; nothing was now heard but cries, nothing ſeen but tears, and all places echoed with groans and lamentations. But above all, the unhappy mothers, quite bathed in tears, tore their diſhevelled hair, beat their breaſts, and, as if grief and deſpair had diſtracted them, they yelled in ſuch a manner, as might have moved the moſt ſavage breaſts to compaſſion. But the ſcene was much more mournful, when the fatal moment of their ſeparation was come; when, after having accompanied their dear children to the ſhip, they bid them a long, laſt farewel, perſuaded that they ſhould never ſee them more; wept a flood of tears over them; embraced them with the utmoſt fondneſs; claſped them eagerly in their arms; could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous and afflicting than if their hearts had been torn out of their breaſts. The hoſtages being arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome; and the conſuls told the deputies, that when they ſhould arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

[a] In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, nothing can be more grievous than a ſtate of uncertainty, which, without deſcending to particulars, images to the mind the blackeſt ſcenes of miſery. As ſoon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp; ſignifying, that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive the commands which they were ready to obey. The conſul, after praiſing their good diſpoſition and

[a] Polyb. p. 975. Appian, p. 44—46.

compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they conſented to, but beſought him to reflect on the ſad condition to which he was reducing them, in the time that Aſdrubal, whoſe quarrel againſt them was owing to no other cauſe but their perfect ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Romans, had advanced, almoſt to their gates, with an army of twenty thouſand men. The anſwer returned them was, that the Romans would ſet that matter right.

[b] This order was immediately put in execution. There arrived in the camp, a long train of waggons, loaded with all the preparations of war taken out of Carthage; two hundred thouſand complete ſets of armour, a numberleſs multitude of darts and javelins, with two thouſand engines for ſhooting darts and ſtones*. Then followed the deputies of Carthage, accompanied by the moſt venerable ſenators and prieſts, who came purpoſely to try to move the Romans to compaſſion in this critical moment, when their ſentence was going to be pronounced, and their fate would be irreverſible. Cenſorinus the conſul, for it was he that ſpoke all this time, roſe up for a moment at their coming, and expreſſed ſome kindneſs and affection for them; but ſuddenly aſſuming a grave and ſevere countenance: "I cannot," ſays he, "but commend the readineſs with which you execute the orders of the ſenate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their abſolute will and pleaſure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have reſolved to deſtroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions, as you ſhall think proper, provided it be at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia† from the ſea."

[c] The inſtant the conſul had pronounced this fulminating decree, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but lamentable ſhrieks and howlings. Being now in a manner thunderſtruck, they neither knew where they were, nor what they did; but rolled themſelves in the duſt, tearing their clothes, and unable to vent their grief any otherwiſe, but by broken ſighs and deep groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of

[b] Appian. p. 46. [c] Ibid. p. 46—53.

* Baliſtæ or Catapultæ. † Four leagues, or twelve miles.

ſuppliants, one moment towards the gods, and the next towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and juſtice with regard to a people, who would ſoon be reduced to the extremes of deſpair. But as both the gods and men were deaf to their fervent prayers, they ſoon changed them into reproaches and imprecations; bidding the Romans call to mind, that there were ſuch beings as avenging deities, whoſe ſevere eyes were for ever open on guilt and treachery. The Romans themſelves could not refrain from tears at ſo moving a ſpectacle, but their reſolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail ſo far, as to get the execution of this order ſuſpended, till they ſhould have an opportunity of preſenting themſelves again before the ſenate, if poſſible, to get it revoked. They were forced to ſet out immediately, and carry the anſwer to Carthage.

[d]The people waited for their return with ſuch an impatience and terror, as words could never expreſs. It was ſcarce poſſible for them to break through the crowd, that flocked round them, to hear the anſwer, which was but too ſtrongly painted in their faces. When they were come into the ſenate, and had declared the barbarous orders of the Romans, a general ſhriek informed the people of their too lamentable fate; and, from that inſtant nothing was ſeen and heard in every part of the city, but howling and deſpair, madneſs and fury.

The reader will here give me leave to interrupt the courſe of the hiſtory for a moment, to reflect on the conduct of the Romans. It is a great pity that the fragment of Polybius, where an account is given of this deputation, ſhould end exactly in the moſt affecting part of this event. I ſhould ſet a much higher value on one ſhort reflection of ſo judicious an author, than on the long harangues which Appian aſcribes to the deputies and the conſul. I can never believe, that ſo rational, judicious, and juſt a man as Polybius, could have approved the proceedings of the Romans on the preſent occaſion. We do not here diſcover, in my opinion, any of the characteriſtics which diſtinguiſhed them anciently; that greatneſs of ſoul, that rectitude, that utter abhorrence of all mean artifices, frauds, and impoſtures, which, as is ſome-

[d] Appian. p. 53, 54.

where ſaid, formed no part of the Roman genius; *Minime Romanis artibus.* Why did not the Romans attack the Carthaginians by open force? Why ſhould they declare expreſsly in a treaty (a moſt ſolemn and ſacred thing) that they allowed them the full enjoyment of their liberties and laws; and underſtand, at the ſame time, certain private conditions, which proved the entire ruin of both? Why ſhould they conceal, under the ſcandalous omiſſion of the word city in this treaty, the black deſign of deſtroying Carthage; as, if, beneath the cover of ſuch an equivocation, they might deſtroy it with juſtice? In fine, why did the Romans not make their laſt declaration, till after they had extorted from the Carthaginians, at different times, their hoſtages and arms; that is, till they had abſolutely rendered them incapable of diſobeying their moſt arbitrary commands? Is it not manifeſt, that Carthage, notwithſtanding all its defeats and loſſes, though it was weakened and almoſt exhauſted, was ſtill a terror to the Romans, and that they were perſuaded, they were not able to conquer it by force of arms? It is very dangerous to be poſſeſſed of ſo much power as may enable one to commit injuſtice with impunity, and with a proſpect of being a gainer by it. The experience of all ages ſhows, that ſtates ſeldom ſcruple to commit injuſtice, when they think it will conduce to their advantage.

[c] The noble character which Polybius gives of the Achæans differs widely from what was practiſed here. Theſe people, ſays he, far from uſing artifice and deceit with regard to their allies, in order to enlarge their power, did not think themſelves allowed to employ them even againſt their enemies, conſidering only thoſe victories as ſolid and glorious, which were obtained ſword in hand, by dint of courage and bravery. He owns in the ſame place, that there then remained among the Romans, but very faint traces of the ancient generoſity of their anceſtors; and he thinks it incumbent on him (as he declares) to make this remark, in oppoſition to a maxim which was grown very common in his time, among perſons in the adminiſtration of governments, who imagined, that honeſty is inconſiſtent with good policy; and that it is impoſſible to ſucceed in the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs,

[c] Polyb. l. xiii. p. 671, 672.

either in war or peace, without uſing fraud and deceit on ſome occaſions.

[f] I now return to my ſubject. The conſuls made no great haſte to march againſt Carthage, not ſuſpecting they had reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from that city as it was now diſarmed. However, the inhabitants took the opportunity of this delay, to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being all unanimouſly reſolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general, without the walls, Aſdrubal, who was at the head of twenty thouſand men: and to whom deputies were ſent accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's ſake, the injuſtice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops, within the walls, was given to another Aſdrubal, grandſon of Maſiniſſa. They then applied themſelves in making arms with incredible expedition. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and ſquares, were all changed into ſo many arſenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made a hundred and forty ſhields, three hundred ſwords, five hundred pikes or javelins, a thouſand arrows, and a great number of engines to diſcharge them; and, becauſe they wanted materials to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, and abundantly ſupplied their wants on this occaſion.

[g] Maſiniſſa was very much diſguſted at the Romans, becauſe, after he had extremely weakened the Carthaginians, they came and reaped the fruits of his victory, without acquainting him in any manner with their deſign, which circumſtance cauſed ſome coldneſs between them.

[h] During this interval, the conſuls were advancing towards the city, in order to beſiege it. As they expected nothing leſs than a vigorous reſiſtance, the incredible reſolution and courage of the beſieged filled them with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. The Carthaginians were for ever making the boldeſt ſallies, in order to repulſe the beſiegers, to burn their engines, and haraſs their foragers. Cenſorinus attacked the city on one ſide, and Manilius on the other.

[f] Appian, p. 55. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 833.
[g] Appian. page 5. [h] page 53—58.

Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, was then a tribune in the army; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the officers, no leſs by his prudence than by his bravery. The conſul, under whom he fought, committed many overſights, by refuſing to follow his advice. This young officer drew the troops from ſeveral dangers into which their imprudent leaders had plunged them. A renowned perſon, Phamæas by name, who was general of the enemy's cavalry, and continually haraſſed the foragers, did not dare ever to keep the field when it was Scipio's turn to ſupport them; ſo capable was he to order his troops, and poſt himſelf to advantage. So great and univerſal a reputation, excited ſome envy againſt him in the beginning; but as he behaved, in all reſpects, with the utmoſt modeſty and reſerve, that envy was ſoon changed into admiration; ſo that when the ſenate ſent deputies to the camp, to enquire into the ſtate of the ſiege, the whole army gave him unanimouſly the higheſt commendations; the ſoldiers as well as officers, nay the very generals extolled the merit of young Scipio: ſo neceſſary it is for a man to ſoften, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſplendor of his riſing glory, by a ſweet and modeſt carriage; and not to excite the jealouſy of people by haughty and ſelf-ſufficient behaviour, as it naturally awakens pride in others, and makes even virtue itſelf odious.

[i] About the ſame time Maſiniſſa, finding his end approach, ſent to deſire a viſit from Scipio, in order that he might inveſt him with full powers, to diſpoſe, as he ſhould ſee proper, of his kingdom and eſtate, in behalf of his children. But on Scipio's arrival he found that monarch dead. Maſiniſſa had commanded them, with his dying breath, to follow implicitly the directions of Scipio, whom he appointed to be a kind of father and guardian to them. I ſhall give no further account here of the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa, becauſe that would interrupt too much the hiſtory of Carthage. A. M. 3857. A Rom. 601.

[k] The high eſteem which Phamæas had entertained for Scipio, induced him to forſake the Carthaginians, and go over to the Romans. Accordingly he joined him with above two thouſand horſe, and did great ſervice at the ſiege.

[i] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 63. [k] Page 65.

[l] Calpurnius Piſo the conſul, and L. Mancinus his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the ſpring. Nothing remarkable was tranſacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on ſeveral occaſions, and carried on the ſiege of Carthage but ſlowly. The beſieged, on the contrary, had recovered their ſpirits. Their troops were conſiderably increaſed, they daily got new allies; and even ſent an expreſs as far as Macedonia, to the counterfeit Philip*; who paſſed for the ſon of Perſeus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans; to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promiſing to furniſh him with money and ſhips.

[m] This news occaſioned ſome uneaſineſs at Rome. People began to doubt the ſucceſs of a war, which grew daily more uncertain, and was more important than had at firſt been imagined. As much as they were diſſatisfied with the dilatorineſs of the generals, and exclaimed at their conduct, ſo much did they unanimouſly agree in applauding young Scipio; and extolling his rare and uncommon virtues. He was come to Rome, in order to ſtand candidate for the edileſhip. The inſtant he appeared in the aſſembly, his name, his countenace, his reputation, a general perſuaſion that he was deſigned by the gods to end the third Punic war, as the firſt Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, had terminated the ſecond; theſe ſeveral circumſtances made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the people; and though it was contrary to law, and therefore oppoſed by the ancient men, inſtead of the edileſhip which he ſued for, the people, diſregarding for once the laws, conferred the conſulſhip upon him, and aſſigned him Africa for his province, without caſting lots for his provinces, as uſual, and as Druſus his colleague demanded.

A. M. 3858. A. Rom. 602.

[o] As ſoon as Scipio had completed his recruits, he ſet out for Sicily, and arrived ſoon after in Utica. He came very ſeaſonably for Mancinus, Piſo's lieutenant, who had raſhly fixed himſelf in a poſt where he was ſurrounded by the enemy; and would have been cut to pieces, had not that very morning, the new conſul, who, at his arrival heard

[l] Strabo, p. 66. [m] Page. 68. [o] Appian, p. 69.

* Andriſcus.

of the danger he was in, reimbarked his troops in the night, and ſailed with the utmoſt ſpeed to his aſſiſtance.

[p] Scipio's firſt care, after his arrival, was to revive the diſcipline among the troops, which he found had been entirely neglected. There was not the leaſt regularity, ſubordination, or obedience. Nothing was attended to but rapine, feaſting, and diverſions. He drove from the camp all uſeleſs perſons, ſettled the quality of the proviſions he would have brought in by the ſuttlers, and allowed of none but what were plain and fit for ſoldiers, ſtudiouſly baniſhing all things of a dainty, luxurious kind.

After he had made theſe regulations, which coſt him but little time and pains, becauſe he himſelf firſt ſet the example, he was perſuaded that thoſe under him were ſoldiers, and thereupon he prepared to carry on the ſiege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themſelves with axes, levers, and ſcaling ladders, he led them, in the dead of the night, and without the leaſt noiſe, to a diſtrict of the city called Megara; when ordering them to give a ſudden and general ſhout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were, at firſt, in the utmoſt terror; however, they defended themſelves ſo courageouſly, that Scipio could not ſcale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forſaken, and which ſtood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of intrepid ſoldiers, who, by the help of * pontons, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, whoſe gates they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately after, and drove the enemies out of that poſt; who, terrified at this unexpected aſſault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, fled into the citadel, whither they were followed even by thoſe forces that were encamped without the city, who abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it neceſſary for them to fly to a place of ſecurity.

[q] Before I proceed further, it will be proper to give ſome account of the ſituation and dimenſions of Carthage, which, in the beginning of the war againſt the Romans,

[p] Appian, p. 70. [q] Pag. 56 et l. lvii. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 832.

* A ſort of moveable bridge.

contained ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants. It ſtood at the bottom of a gulf ſurrounded with the ſea, and in the form of a peninſula, whoſe neck, that is, the iſthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five ſtadia, or a league and a quarter in breadth. The peninſula was three hundred and ſixty ſtadia, or eighteen leagues round. On the weſt ſide there projected from it a long neck of land, half a ſtadium, or twelve fathoms broad; which advancing into the ſea, divided it from a moraſs, and was fenced on all ſides with rocks and a ſingle wall. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, where ſtood the citadel called Byrſa, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abſtracted from parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances, each interval being fourſcore fathoms. Every tower was four ſtories high, and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were ſtalls large enough to hold three hundred elephants with their fodder, &c. over theſe were ſtables for four thouſand horſes, and lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. In fine, all theſe were contained within the walls. The walls were weak and low in one place only; and that was a neglected angle, which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours which were on the weſt ſide. Two of theſe communicated with each other, and had but one entrance, ſeventy feet broad, ſhut up with chains. The firſt was appropriated for the merchants, and had ſeveral diſtinct habitations for the ſeamen. The ſecond or inner harbour, was for the ſhips of war, in the midſt of which ſtood an iſland, called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large keys, in which were diſtinct receptacles * for ſheltering from the weather two hundred and twenty ſhips; over theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionick order: ſo that both the harbour and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. In this iſland was the admiral's palace; and as it

* Νεωσοικους, Strabo.

ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſcover whatever was doing at ſea, though no one, from thence, could ſee what was tranſacting in the inward part of the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no proſpect of the men of war, the two ports being ſeparated by a double wall, each having its particular gate that led to the city, without paſſing through the other harbour. [r] So that Carthage may be divided into three parts: the harbour, which was double, and called ſometimes Cothon, from the little iſland of that name: the citadel, named Byrſa: the city properly ſo called, where the inhabitants dwelt, which lay round the citadel, and was called Megara.

[s] At day-break, Aſdrubal * perceiving the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and, at the ſame time, deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman priſoners he had taken, upon the walls, in ſight of the whole army. There he put them to the moſt exquiſite torture; putting out their eyes, cutting off their noſes, ears, and fingers; tearing their ſkin to pieces with iron rakes or harrows, and then threw them headlong from the top of the battlements. So inhuman a treatment filled the Carthaginians with horror: however, he did not ſpare even them, but murdered many ſenators who had been ſo brave as to oppoſe his tyranny.

[t] Scipio, finding himſelf abſolute maſter of the Iſthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had deſerted, and built a new one for his troops. It was in a ſquare form, ſurrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with ſtrong paliſades. On the ſide which faced the Carthaginians, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper diſtances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be ſeen whatever was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the Iſthmus, that is,

[r] Boch. in Phal. p. 512. [s] Appian, p. 72. [t] Pag. 72.

* It was he who at firſt commanded without the city, but having cauſed the other Aſdrubal, Maſiniſſa's grandſon, to be put to death, he got the command of the troops within the walls.

twenty-five ſtadia*. The enemy, who were within arrow-ſhot of it, employed their utmoſt efforts to put a ſtop to this work; but, as the whole army worked at it day and night, without intermiſſion, it was finiſhed in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a double advantage from this work: firſt, his forces were lodged more ſafely and commodiouſly than before: ſecondly, he cut off all proviſions from the beſieged, to whom none could be brought but by land; which diſtreſſed them exceedingly, both becauſe the ſea is frequently very tempeſtuous in that place, and becauſe the Roman fleet kept a ſtrict guard. This proved one of the chief cauſes of the famine which raged ſoon after in the city. Beſides, Aſdrubal diſtributed the corn that was brought only among the thirty thouſand men who ſerved under him, without regard to what became of the inhabitants.

[u] To diſtreſs them ſtill more, by the want of proviſions, Scipio attempted to ſtop up the mouth of the haven, by a mole, beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the harbour. The beſieged looked, at firſt, upon this attempt as ridiculous, and accordingly they inſulted the workmen: but, at laſt, ſeeing them make an aſtoniſhing progreſs every day, they began to be afraid; and to take ſuch meaſures as might, if poſſible, render the attempt unſucceſsful. Every one, to the women and children, fell to work, but ſo privately, that all Scipio could learn from the priſoners, was, that they had heard a great noiſe in the harbour, but did not know the cauſe or occaſion of it. At laſt, all things being ready, the Carthaginians opened, on a ſudden, a new outlet, on the other ſide of the haven; and appeared at ſea with a numerous fleet, which they had then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is generally allowed, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they muſt infallibly have taken it; becauſe as no ſuch attempt was expected, and every man was otherwiſe employed, the Carthaginians would have found it without rowers, ſoldiers, or officers. But the ruin of Carthage, ſays the hiſtorian, was decreed. Having therefore only

[u] Appian p. 74.

* Four miles and three quarters.

offered a kind of inſult or bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

[x] Two days after they brought forward their ſhips, with a reſolution to fight in good earneſt, and found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. It laſted a long time, each exerting themſelves to the utmoſt: the one to ſave their country reduced to the laſt extremity, and the other to complete their victory. During the fight, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ſhips, broke to pieces ſometimes their ſterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when briſkly attacked, retreated with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs, and returned immediately to the charge. At laſt, after the two armies had fought with equal ſucceſs till ſun-ſet, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire; not that they believed themſelves overcome, but, in order to begin the fight again on the morrow. Part of their ſhips not being able to run ſwiftly enough into the harbour, becauſe the mouth of it was too narrow, took ſhelter under a very ſpacious terrace, which had been thrown up againſt the walls to unload goods, on the ſide of which a ſmall rampart had been raiſed during this war, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of it. Here the fight was again renewed with more vigour than ever, and laſted till late at night. The Carthaginians ſuffered very much, and the few ſhips of theirs which got off, ſailed for refuge to the city. Morning being come, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it, though with great difficulty; after which he poſted and fortified himſelf on it, and built a brick wall cloſe to that of the city, and of the ſame height. When it was finiſhed he commanded four thouſand men to get on the top of it, and to diſcharge from it a perpetual ſhower of darts and arrows upon the enemy, which did great execution; becauſe, as the two walls were of equal height, there was ſcarce one dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

[y] During the winter-quarters, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city, who very much haraſſed the troops that brought his proviſions, and protected ſuch as were ſent to the beſieged. For this pur-

[x] Appian, p. 75. [y] Appian, p. 78.

poſe he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nepheris, where they uſed to ſhelter themſelves. In the laſt action, above ſeventy thouſand of the enemy, as well ſoldiers as peaſants, who had been inliſted, were cut to pieces; and the fort was carried with great difficulty, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of two-and-twenty days. The ſeizure of this fort was followed by the ſurrender of almoſt all the ſtrong holds in Africa; and contributed very much to the taking of Carthage itſelf, into which, from that time, it was almoſt impoſſible to bring any proviſions.

A M. 3859. A. Rom. 603.

[z] Early in the ſpring, Scipio attacked, at one and the ſame time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel. Having poſſeſſed himſelf of the wall which ſurrounded this port, he threw himſelf into the great ſquare of the city that was near it, from whence was an aſcent to the citadel, up three ſtreets, on each ſide of which were houſes, from the tops whereof a ſhower of darts were diſcharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houſes they came firſt to, and poſt themſelves in them, in order to diſlodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houſes. The combat which was carried on from the tops, and in every part of the houſes continued ſix days, during which a dreadful ſlaughter was made. To clear the ſtreets, and make way for the troops, the Romans dragged aſide, with hooks, the bodies of ſuch of the inhabitants as had been ſlain, or precipitated headlong from the houſes; and threw them into pits, the greateſt part of them being ſtill alive and panting. In this toil, which laſted ſix days and as many nights, the ſoldiers were relieved from time to time, by freſh ones, without which they would have been quite ſpent. Scipio was the only perſon who did not take a wink of ſleep all this time; giving orders in all places, and ſcarce allowing himſelf leiſure to take the leaſt refreſhment.

[a] There was ſtill reaſon to believe, that the ſiege would laſt much longer, and occaſion a great effuſion of blood. But on the ſeventh day, there appeared a company of men in a ſuppliant poſture and habit, who deſired no other conditions, but that the Romans would pleaſe to ſpare the lives

[z] Appian, p. 79. [a] Appian, p. 81.

of all thoſe who ſhould be willing to leave the citadel; which requeſt was granted them, only the deſerters were excepted. Accordingly there came out fifty thouſand men and women, who were ſent into the fields under a ſtrong guard. The deſerters, who were about nine hundred, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themſelves in the temple of Æſculapius, with Aſdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but ſmall, they might have held out a long time, becauſe the temple ſtood on a very high hill, upon rocks, to which the aſcent was by ſixty ſteps. But at laſt, exhauſted by hunger and watchings, oppreſſed with fear, and ſeeing their deſtruction at hand, they loſt all patience; when, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermoſt ſtory, and reſolved not to quit it but with their lives.

In the mean time Aſdrubal, being deſirous of ſaving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive branch in his hand, and threw himſelf at his feet. Scipio ſhowed him immediately to the deſerters, who, tranſported with rage and fury at the ſight, vented millions of imprecations againſt him, and ſet fire to the temple. Whilſt it was lighting, we are told, that Aſdrubal's wife, dreſſing herſelf as ſplendidly as poſſible, and placing herſelf with her two children in ſight of Scipio, addreſſed him with a loud voice: "I call not down," ſays ſhe, "curſes upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takeſt the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, puniſh, according to his deſerts, the falſe wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then, directing herſelf to Aſdrubal, "Perfidious wretch," ſays ſhe; "thou baſeſt of creatures! this fire will preſently conſume both me and my children; but as to thee (too ſhameful general of Carthage) go—adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror—ſuffer, in the ſight of all Rome, the tortures thou ſo juſtly deſerveſt!" She had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, but ſeizing her children, ſhe cut their throats, threw them into the flames, and afterwards ruſhed into them herſelf; in which ſhe was imitated by all the deſerters.

[b] With regard to Scipio, when he ſaw this famous city, which had flouriſhed ſeven hundred years, and might have been compared to the greateſt empires, on account of the extent of its dominions both by ſea and land; its mighty armies; its fleets, elephants, and riches; and that the Carthaginians were even ſuperior to other nations, by their courage and greatneſs of ſoul; as notwithſtanding their being deprived of arms and ſhips, they had ſuſtained, for three whole years, all the hardſhips and calamities of a long ſiege; ſeeing, I ſay, this city entirely ruined, hiſtorians relate, that he could not refuſe his tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no leſs than particular men; that the like ſad fate had befallen Troy, anciently ſo powerful; and, in later times, the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, whoſe dominions were once of ſo great an extent; and laſtly, the Macedonians, whoſe empire had been ſo glorious throughout the world. Full of theſe mournful ideas, he repeated the following verſes of Homer,

Εσσεται ημαρ, οταν ποτ ολωλη Ιλιος ιρη,
Και Πριαμος και λαος ευμμελιω Πρεαμοιο. Il. δ. 164, 165.

The day ſhall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the duſt ſhall lay,
When Priam's pow'rs and Priam's ſelf ſhall fall,
And one prodigious ruin follow all. POPE.

thereby denouncing the future deſtiny of Rome, as he himſelf confeſſed to Polybius, who deſired Scipio to explain himſelf on that occaſion.

Had the truth enlightened his ſoul, he would have diſcovered what we are taught in the Scriptures, that "[c] becauſe of unrighteous dealing, injuries, and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is tranſlated from one people to another." Carthage is deſtroyed, becauſe its avarice, perfidiouſneſs, and cruelty, have attained their utmoſt height. The like fate will attend Rome, when its luxury, ambition, pride, and unjuſt uſurpations, concealed beneath a ſpecious and deluſive ſhow of juſtice and virtue, ſhall have compelled the

[b] Appian. p. 82. [c] Eccleſ. x. 83.

ſovereign Lord, the diſpoſer of empires, to give the univerſe an important leſſon in its fall.

[d] Carthage being taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it (the gold ſilver, ſtatues, and other offerings which ſhould be found in the temples excepted) to his ſoldiers for ſome days. He afterwards beſtowed ſeveral military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, *viz.* Tib. Gracchus, and Caius Fannius, who firſt ſca[illegible]d the walls. After this, adorning a very ſmall ſhip (an excellent ſailer) with the enemy's ſpoils, he ſent it to Rome with the news of the victory. A. M. 3859. A. Carth. 701. A. Rom. 693. Ant. J. C. 145.

[e] At the ſame time he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take poſſeſſion of the pictures and ſtatues which the Carthaginians had plundered them of in the former wars. When he reſtored, to the citizens of Agrigentum, Phalaris's famous bull*, he told them that this bull, which was, at one and the ſame time, a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their preſent ſovereigns, ought to make them ſenſible, which would be moſt advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having expoſed to ſale part of the ſpoils of Carthage, he commanded on the moſt ſevere penalties, his family not to take, or even buy any of them: ſo careful was he to remove from himſelf, and all belonging to him, the leaſt ſuſpicion of avarice.

[f] When the news of the taking of Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themſelves to the moſt immoderate tranſports of joy, as if the public tranquillity had not been ſecured till that inſtant. They revolved in their minds, all the calamities, which the Carthaginians had brought upon them, in Sicily, in Spain, and even in Italy, for ſixteen years together; during which, Hannibal had plundered four hundred towns, deſtroyed three hundred

[d] Appian. p. 83. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

* *Quem taurum Scipio cum redderet Agrigentinis, dixiſſe dicitur, æquam eſſe illos cogitare utrum eſſet Siculis utilius, fuiſne ſervire, an populo R. obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domeſticæ crudelitatis, et noſtræ manſuetudinis haberent.* Cicer. Verr. vi. n. 73.

thouſand men, and reduced Rome itſelf to the utmoſt extremity. Amidſt the remembrance of theſe paſt evils, the people in Rome would aſk one another, whether it were really true that Carthage was in aſhes. All ranks and degrees of men emulouſly ſtrove who ſhould ſhow the greateſt gratitude towards the gods; and the citizens were, for many days, employed wholly in ſolemn ſacrifices, in public prayers, games, and ſpectacles.

ᵍ After theſe religious duties were ended, the ſenate ſent ten commiſſioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country, in times to come. Their firſt care was to demoliſh whatever was ſtill remaining of Carthage*. Rome†, though miſtreſs of almoſt the whole world, could not believe herſelf ſafe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being: ſo true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and bloody wars, laſts even beyond the time when all cauſe of fear is removed: and does not ceaſe, till the object that occaſions it is no more. Orders were given, in the name of the Romans, that it never ſhould be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced againſt thoſe, who, contrary to this prohibition, ſhould attempt to rebuild any parts of it, eſpecially thoſe called Byrſa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who deſired it, was admitted to ſee Carthage: Scipio being well pleaſed, to have people view the ſad ruins of a city which had dared to contend with Rome for empire‡. The commiſſioners decreed further, that thoſe cities, which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, ſhould all be raſed, and their territories be given to the Roman allies; they particularly made a grant to the citi-

ᵍ Appian, p. 84.

* We may gueſs at the dimenſions of this famous city, by what Florus ſays, *viz.* that it was ſeventeen days on fire before it could be all conſumed. *Quanta urbs deleta ſit, ut de cæteris taceam, vel ignium mora probari poteſt; quippe per continuos decem et ſeptem dies vix potuit incendium extingui.* Lib. ii. c. 15.

† *Neque ſe Roma, jam terrarum orbe ſuperato, ſecuram ſperavit fore, ſi nomen uſquam maneret Carthaginis. Adeo odium certaminibus ortum, ultra metum durat et ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinit, quam eſſe deſit.* Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

‡ *Ut ipſe locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vaſtigia calamitatis oſtenderet.* Agrar. ii. n. 50.

zens of Utica, of the whole country lying between Carthage and Hippo. All the reſt they made tributary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a prætor was ſent annually.

[h] All matters being thus ſettled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. So magnificent a one had never been ſeen before; the whole exhibiting nothing but ſtatues, rare invaluable pictures, and other curioſities, which the Carthaginians had, for many years, been collecting, in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treaſury, which amounted to immenſe ſums.

[i] Notwithſtanding the great precautions which were taken, to hinder Carthage from being ever rebuilt, in leſs than thirty years after, and even in Scipio's life-time, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony conſiſting of ſix thouſand citizens for that purpoſe. The ſenate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits, and laying the foundations of the new city, would have ſuſpended the attempt; but the tribune, not being over ſcrupulous in religious matters, carried on the work, notwithſtanding all theſe bad preſages, and finiſhed it in a few days. This was the firſt Roman colony that was ever ſent out of Italy.

It is probable, that only a kind of huts were built there, ſince were are told, * that when Marius retired hither, in his flight to Africa, he lived in a mean and poor condition amid the ruins of Carthage, conſoling himſelf by the ſight of ſo aſtoniſhing a ſpectacle; himſelf ſerving, in ſome meaſure, as a conſolation to that ill-fated city.

[k] Appian relates, that Julius Cæſar, after the death of Pompey, having croſſed into Africa, ſaw, in a dream, an army compoſed of a prodigious number of ſoldiers, who, with tears in their eyes, called him; and that, ſtruck with the viſion, he writ down in his pocket-book the deſign which he

[h] Appian, p. 84. [i] Ibid. 85. Plut. in vit. Gracch. p. 834.
[k] Appian. p. 85.

* *Marius curſum in Africam direxit, inoquemque vitamin tugurio ruinarum Carthaginienſium toleravit: cum Marius aſpiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri poſſent eſſe ſolatio.* VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 19.

formed on this occaſion, of rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; but that having been murdered ſoon after by the conſpirators, Auguſtus Cæſar, his adopted ſon, who found this memorandum among his papers, rebuilt Carthage near the ſpot where it ſtood formerly, in order that the imprecations which had been vented at the time of its deſtruction, againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to rebuild it, might not fall upon him.

[1] I know not what foundation Appian has for this ſtory; but we read in Strabo, that Carthage and Corinth were rebuilt at the ſame time by Cæſar, to whom he gives the name of God, by which title, a little before[m], he had plainly intended Julius Cæſar; and Plutarch[n], in the lifetime of that emperor, aſcribes expreſsly to him, the eſtabliſhment of theſe two colonies; and obſerves, that one remarkable circumſtance in theſe two cities is, that as both had been taken and deſtroyed together, they were likewiſe rebuilt and repeopled at the ſame time. However this be, Strabo affirms, that, in his time, Carthage was as populous as any city in Africa; and it roſe to be the capital of Africa, under the ſucceeding emperors. It exiſted for above ſeven hundred years in ſplendor, but at laſt was ſo completely deſtroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, that neither its name, nor the leaſt footſteps of it are known, at this time, in the country.

A Digreſſion on the Manners and Character of the ſecond Scipio Africanus.

SCIPIO, the deſtroyer of Carthage, was ſon to the famous Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon; and conſequently grandſon to that Paulus, who loſt his life in the battle of Cannæ. He was adopted by the ſon of the great Scipio Africanus, and called Scipio Æmilianus; the names of the two families being ſo united, purſuant to the law of adoptions. Our *Scipio ſupported,

[1] Appian. l. xvii. p. 833. [m] Pag. 83. [n] Pag. 733.

** Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis, P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit aut ſenſit.* VEL. PATERC. l. i. c. 12.

with equal luſtre, the honour and dignity of both houſes, being poſſeſſed of all the exalted qualities of the ſword and gown. The whole tenor of his life, ſays an hiſtorian, whether with regard to his actions, his thoughts, or his words, was conſpicuous for its great beauty and regularity. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly (a circumſtance ſeldom found at that time in perſons of the military profeſſion) by his exquiſite taſte for polite literature, and all the ſciences; as well as by the uncommon regard he ſhowed to learned men. It is univerſally known, that he was reported to be the author of Terence's comedies, the moſt polite and elegant writings which the Romans could boaſt. We are told of Scipio*, that no man could blend more happily repoſe and action, nor employ his leiſure hours with greater delicacy and taſte: thus was he divided between arms and books, between the military labours of the camp, and the peaceful employment of the cabinet; in which he either exerciſed his body in toils of war, or his mind in the ſtudy of the ſciences. By this he ſhowed, that nothing does greater honour to a perſon of diſtinction, of what quality or profeſſion ſoever he be, than the adorning his ſoul with knowledge. Cicero, ſpeaking of Scipio, ſays, † that he always had Xenophon's works in his hands, which are ſo famous for the ſolid and excellent inſtructions they contain both in regard to war and policy.

[o] He owed this exquiſite taſte for polite learning and the ſciences, to the excellent education which Paulus Æmilius beſtowed on his children. He had put them under the ableſt maſters in every art; and did not ſpare any coſt on that occaſion, though his circumſtances were very narrow: P. Æmilius himſelf was preſent at all their leſſons, as often as the affairs of government would permit; becoming by this means, their chief preceptor.

[p] The ſtrict union between Polybius and Scipio finiſhed the exalted qualities, which, by the ſuperiority of his genius

[o] Plut. in vit. Æmil Paul. [p] Excerpt. e Polyb. p. 147—163.

* *Neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit: ſemper, que aut belli aut pacis ſerviit artibus, ſemper inter arma ac ſtudia verſatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum diſciplinis exercuit.* Ibid, c. 13.

† *Africanus ſemper Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat.* Tusc. Quæſt. l. ii. n. 62.

and diſpoſition, and the excellency of his education, were already the ſubject of admiration. Polybius, with a great number of Achaians, whoſe fidelity the Romans ſuſpected during the war with Perſeus, was detained in Rome, where his merit ſoon attracted the eyes, and made his converſation the deſire of all perſons of the higheſt quality in that city. Scipio, when ſcarce eighteen, devoted himſelf entirely to Polybius; and conſidered as the greateſt felicity of his life, the opportunity he had of being inſtructed by ſo great a maſter, whoſe ſociety he preferred to all the vain and idle amuſements which are generally ſo eagerly purſued by young perſons.

Polybius's firſt care was to inſpire Scipio with an averſion for thoſe equally dangerous and ignominious pleaſures, to which the Roman youth were ſo ſtrongly addicted; the greateſt part of them being already depraved and corrupted, by the luxury and licentiouſneſs which riches and new conqueſts had introduced in Rome. Scipio, during the firſt five years that he continued in ſo excellent a ſchool, made the greateſt improvement in it; and, deſpiſing the levity and wantonneſs, as well as the pernicious examples of perſons of the ſame age with himſelf, he was looked upon, even at that time, as a ſhining model of diſcretion and wiſdom.

From hence a tranſition was eaſy and natural, to generoſity, to a noble diſregard of riches, and to a laudable uſe of them; all virtues ſo requiſite in perſons of illuſtrious birth, and which Scipio carried to the moſt exalted pitch, as appears from ſome inſtances of this kind related by Polybius, and highly worthy our admiration.

Æmilia*, wife of the firſt Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who adopted the Scipio mentioned here by Polybius, had bequeathed, at her death, a great eſtate to the latter. This lady, beſides the diamonds and jewels which are worn by women of her high rank, poſſeſſed a great number of gold and ſilver veſſels uſed in ſacrifices, together with ſeveral ſplendid equipages, and a conſiderable number of ſlaves of both ſexes; the whole ſuited to the auguſt houſe into which ſhe had married. At her death, Scipio made over all thoſe rich poſſeſſions to Papira his mother, who

* She was ſiſter of Paulus Æmilius, father of the ſecond Africanus.

having been divorced a conſiderable time before by Paulus Æmilius, and not being in circumſtances, to ſupport the dignity of her birth, lived in great obſcurity, and never appeared in the aſſemblies or public ceremonies. But when ſhe again frequented them with a magnificent train, this noble generoſity of Scipio did him great honour, eſpecially in the minds of the ladies, who expatiated on it in all their converſations, and in a city, whoſe inhabitants, ſays Polybius, were not eaſily prevailed upon to part with their money.

Scipio was no leſs admired on another occaſion. He was bound, by a condition in the will, to pay, at three different times, to the two daughters of Scipio, his grandfather by adoption, half their portions, which amounted to fifty thouſand French crowns*. The time for the payment of the firſt ſum being expired, Scipio put the whole money into the hands of a banker. Tiberius Gracchus, and Scipio Naſica, who had married the two ſiſters, imagining that Scipio had made a miſtake, went to him, and obſerved, that the laws allowed him three years to pay the ſum in, and at three different times. Young Scipio anſwered, that he knew very well what the laws directed on this occaſion; that they might indeed be executed in their greateſt rigour with ſtrangers, but that friends and relations ought to treat one another with more generous ſimplicity; and therefore deſired them to receive the whole ſum. They were ſtruck with ſuch admiration at the generoſity of their kinſman, that in their return home, they reproached † themſelves for their narrow way of thinking, at a time when they made the greateſt figure of any family in Rome. This generous action, ſays Polybius, was the more admired, becauſe no perſon in Rome, ſo far from conſenting to pay fifty thouſand crowns before they were due, would pay even a thouſand before the time for payment was elapſed.

It was from the ſame noble ſpirit, that two years after, Paulus Æmilius his father being dead, he made over to his brother Fabius, who was not ſo wealthy as himſelf, the part of their father's eſtate which was his (Scipio's) due (amounting to above threeſcore thouſand crowns‡) in order that

* Or 11,250l. ſterling.

† Κατεγιωκοτες της αυτων μικρολογιας.

‡ Or 13,500l. ſterling.

there might not be ſo great a diſparity between his fortune and that of his brother.

This Fabius being deſirous to exhibit a ſhow of gladiators after his father's deceaſe, in honour of his memory (as was the cuſtom in that age) and not being able to defray the expences on this occaſion, which amounted to a very heavy ſum, Scipio made him a preſent of fifteen thouſand* crowns, in order to defray at leaſt half the charges of it.

The ſplendid preſents which Scipio had made his mother Papira, reverted to him, by law, as well as equity, after her demiſe; and his ſiſters according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, had not the leaſt claim to them. Nevertheleſs, Scipio thought it would have been diſhonourable in him, had he taken them back again. He therefore made over to his ſiſters, whatever he had preſented to their mother, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; and by this freſh proof of his glorious diſregard of wealth, and the tender friendſhip he had for his family, acquired the applauſe of the whole city.

Theſe different benefactions, which amounted all together to a prodigious ſum, ſeemed to have received a brighter luſtre from the age in which he beſtowed them, he being ſtill very young; and yet more from the circumſtances of the time when they were preſented, as well as the kind and obliging carriage he aſſumed on thoſe occaſions.

The incidents I have here given, are ſo repugnant to the maxims of this age, that there might be reaſon to fear the reader would conſider them merely as the rhetorical flouriſhes of an hiſtorian, who was prejudiced in favour of his hero; if it was not well known, that the predominant characteriſtic of Polybius, by whom they are related, is a ſincere love for truth, and an utter averſion to adulation of every kind. In the very paſſage whence this relation is extracted, he thought it would be neceſſary for him to be a little guarded, where he expatiates on the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio; and he obſerves that, as his writings were to be peruſed by the Romans, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the particulars of this great man's life, he would certainly be animadverted upon by

* Or 5375l. ſterling.

them, ſhould he venture to advance any falſehood; an affront to which it is not probable that an author, who is ever ſo little tender of his reputation, would expoſe himſelf, eſpecially if no advantage was to accrue to him from it.

We have already obſerved, that Scipio had never given into the faſhionable debaucheries and exceſſes to which the young people at Rome ſo wantonly abandoned themſelves. But he was ſufficiently compenſated for this ſelf-denial of all deſtructive pleaſures, by the vigorous health he enjoyed all the reſt of his life, which enabled him to taſte pleaſures of a much purer and more exalted kind, and to perform the great actions that reflected ſo much glory upon him.

Hunting, which was his darling exerciſe, contributed alſo very much to invigorate his conſtitution, and enable him alſo to endure the hardeſt toils. Macedonia, whither he followed his father, gave him an opportunity of indulging, to the utmoſt of his deſire, his paſſion in this reſpect: for the chaſe, which was the uſual diverſion of the Macedonian monarchs, having been laid aſide for ſome years on account of the wars, Scipio found there an incredible quantity of game of every kind. Paulus Æmilius, ſtudious of procuring his ſon virtuous pleaſures of every kind, in order to divert his mind from thoſe which reaſon prohibits, gave him full liberty to indulge himſelf in this favourite ſport, during all the time that the Roman forces continued in that country, after the victory he had gained over Perſeus. The illuſtrious youth employed his leiſure hours in an exerciſe, which ſuited ſo well his age and inclination; and was as ſucceſsful in this innocent war againſt the beaſts in Macedonia, as his father had been in that which he had carried on againſt the inhabitants of the country.

It was at Scipio's return from Macedon, that he met with Polybius in Rome; and contracted the ſtrict friendſhip with him, which was afterwards ſo beneficial to our young Roman, and did him almoſt as much honour in after-ages, as all his conqueſts. We find, by hiſtory, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day, when himſelf and Scipio were alone, the latter vented himſelf freely to him, and complained, but in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, that he in their converſations at table, always directed him-

ſelf to his brother Fabius, and never to him. "I am ſenſible," ſays he, "that this indifference ariſes from your ſuppoſing, with all our citizens, that I am a heedleſs young man, and wholly averſe to the taſte which now prevails in Rome, becauſe I do not plead at the bar, nor ſtudy the graces of elocution. But how ſhould I do this? I am told perpetually, that the Romans expect a general, and not an orator, from the houſe of the Scipios. I will confeſs to you (pardon the ſincerity with which I reveal my thoughts) that your coldneſs and indifference grieve me exceedingly." Polybius, ſurpriſed at theſe unexpected words, made Scipio the kindeſt anſwer; and aſſured the illuſtrious youth, that though he always directed himſelf to his brother, yet this was not out of diſreſpect to him, but only becauſe Fabius was the eldeſt; not to mention (continued Polybius) that, knowing you poſſeſſed but one ſoul, I conceived that I addreſſed both when I ſpoke to either of you. He then aſſured Scipio, that he was entirely at his command: that with regard to the ſciences, for which he diſcovered the happieſt genius, he would have opportunities ſufficient to improve himſelf in them, from the great number of learned Grecians, who reſorted daily to Rome; but that, as to the art of war, which was properly his profeſſion and his favourite ſtudy, he (Polybius) might be of ſome little ſervice to him. He had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, but Scipio, graſping his hand in a kind of rapture: "O when," ſays he, "ſhall I ſee the happy day, when diſengaged from all other avocations, and living with me, you will be ſo much my friend, as to improve my underſtanding, and regulate my affections? It is then I ſhall think myſelf worthy of my illuſtrious anceſtors." From that time Polybius, overjoyed to ſee ſo young a man breathe ſuch noble ſentiments, devoted himſelf particularly to our Scipio, who for ever after paid him as much reverence as if he had been his father.

However, Scipio did not only eſteem Polybius as an excellent hiſtorian, but valued him much more, and reaped much greater advantages from him, by his being ſo able a warrior and ſo profound a politician. Accordingly he conſulted him on every occaſion, and always took his advice even when he was at the head of his army; con-

certing in private with Polybius, all the operations of the campaign, all the movements of the forces, all enterprises against the enemy, and the several measures proper for rendering them successful.

[q] In a word, it was the common report that our illustrious Roman did not perform any great or good action, but when he was advised to it by Polybius; nor ever commit an error, except when he acted without consulting him.

I flatter myself that the reader will excuse this long digression, which may be thought foreign to my subject as I am not writing the Roman history. However, it appeared to me so well adapted to the general design I propose to myself in this work, *viz.* the cultivating and improving the minds of youth, that I could not forbear, introducing it here, though I was sensible this is not directly its proper place. And indeed, these examples show how important it is, that young people should receive a liberal and virtuous education, and the great benefit they reap, by frequenting and corresponding early with persons of merit; for these were the foundation whereon were built the fame and glory which have rendered Scipio immortal. But above all, how noble a model for our age (in which the most inconsiderable and even trifling concerns often create feuds and animosities between brothers and sisters, and disturb the peace of families) is the generous disinterestedness of Scipio, who, whenever he had an opportunity of serving his relations, took a delight in bestowing the largest sums upon them! This excellent passage of Polybius had escaped me, by its not being inserted in the folio edition of his works. It belongs indeed naturally to the book, where, treating of the taste with regard to solid glory, I mentioned the contempt in which the ancients held riches, and the excellent use they made of them. I therefore thought myself indispensably obliged to restore, on this occasion to young students, what I afterwards could not but blame myself for omitting.

[q] Pausan. in Arcad. l. viii. p. 505.

The Hiſtory of the Family and Poſterity of Maſiniſſa.

I PROMISED, after finiſhing what related to the republic of Carthage, to return to the family and poſterity of Maſiniſſa. This piece of hiſtory forms a conſiderable part of that of Africa, and therefore is not quite foreign to my ſubject.

A. M. 3857. A. Rom. 601. [r] From Maſiniſſa's having declared for the Romans in the time of the firſt Scipio, he had always adhered to that honourable alliance, with an almoſt unparalleled zeal and fidelity. Finding his end approaching, he wrote to the proconſul of Africa, under whoſe ſtandards the younger Scipio then fought, to deſire that Roman might be ſent to him; adding, that he ſhould die with ſatisfaction, if he could but expire in his arms, after having made him executor to his will. But believing that he ſhould be dead before it could be poſſible for him to receive this conſolation, he ſent for his wife and children, and ſpoke to them as follows: "I know no other nation but the Romans, and, among this nation, no other family but that of the Scipios. I now, in my expiring moments empower Scipio Æmilianus to diſpoſe, in an abſolute manner, of all my poſſeſſions, and to divide my kingdom among my children. I require, that whatever Scipio may decree, ſhall be executed as punctually as if I myſelf had appointed it by my will." After ſaying theſe words he breathed his laſt, being upwards of ninety years of age.

[s] This prince, during his youth, had met with ſtrange reverſes of fortune, having been diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, obliged to fly from province to province, and a thouſand times in danger of his life. Being ſupported, ſays the hiſtorian, by the divine protection, he was afterwards favoured till his death, with a perpetual ſeries of proſperity, unruffled by any ſiniſter accident: for he not only recovered his own kingdom, but added to it that of Syphax his enemy; and extending his kingdom from Mauritania as far as Cyrene, he became the moſt powerful prince of all Africa. He was bleſſed till he left the world, with the greateſt health and

[r] App. p. 65. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2. [s] App. p. 65.

vigour, which doubtleſs was owing to his extreme temperance, and the toils he perpetually ſuſtained. Though ninety * years of age, he performed all the exerciſes uſed by young men, and always rode without a ſaddle, and Polybius obſerves (a circumſtance preſerved by [t] Plutarch) that the day after a great victory over the Carthaginians, Maſiniſſa was ſeen, ſitting at the door of his tent, eating a piece of brown bread.

[u] He left fifty-four ſons, of whom three only were legitimate, *viz.* Micipſa, Guluſſa, and Maſtanabal. Scipio divided the kingdom between theſe three, and gave conſiderable poſſeſſions to the reſt: but the two laſt dying ſoon after, Micipſa became ſole poſſeſſor of theſe extenſive dominions. He had two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal (whom he educated in his palace with Jugurtha his nephew, Maſtanabal's ſon) of whom he took as much care as he did of his own children†. This laſt-mentioned prince poſſeſſed ſeveral eminent qualities, which gained him univerſal eſteem. Jugurtha, who was finely ſhaped, and very handſome, of the moſt delicate wit, and the moſt ſolid judgment, did not devote himſelf, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleaſure. He uſed to exerciſe himſelf with perſons of his age, in running, riding, throwing the javelin; and though he ſurpaſſed all his companions, there was not one of them but loved him. The chaſe was his only delight, but it was that of lions and other ſavage beaſts. To finiſh his character, he excelled in all things, and ſpoke very little of himſelf: *plurimum facere, et minimum ipſe de ſe loqui.*

So conſpicuous an aſſemblage of fine talents and perfections, began to excite the jealouſy of Micipſa. He ſaw himſelf in the decline of life, and his children very young.

[t] An ſeni gerenda ſit Reſ. p. 791. [u] Appian. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.

* Cicero introduces Cato, ſpeaking as follows of Maſiniſſa's vigorous conſtitution. *Arbitror te audire Scipio, hoſpes tuus Maſiniſſa quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus; cum ingreſſus iter pedibus ſit, in equum omnino non aſcendere; cum equo, ex equo non deſcendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto ſit; ſummam eſſe in eo corporis ſiccitatem. Itaque exequi omnia regis officia et munera.* De Senectute.

† All this hiſtory of Jugurtha is extracted from Salluſt.

*He knew the prodigious lengths which ambition is capable of going, when a crown is in view; and that a man, with talents much inferior to thoſe of Jugurtha, might be dazzled by ſo reſplendent a temptation, eſpecially when united with ſuch favourable circumſtances. In order therefore to remove a competitor, ſo dangerous with regard to his children, he gave Jugurtha the command of the forces which he ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, who, at that time, were beſieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio. Knowing Jugurtha was actuated by the moſt heroic bravery, he flattered himſelf, that he probably would ruſh upon danger, and loſe his life. However, he was miſtaken. This young prince joined to an undaunted courage, the utmoſt calmneſs of mind; and, a circumſtance very rarely found in perſons of his age, he preſerved a juſt medium between a timorous foreſight and an impetuous raſhneſs†. In this campaign, he won the eſteem and friendſhip of the whole army. Scipio ſent him back to his uncle with letters of recommendation, and the moſt advantageous teſtimonials of his conduct, after having given him very prudent advice with regard to it: for, knowing mankind ſo well, he, in all probability, had diſcovered certain ſparks of ambition in that prince, which he feared would one day break out into a flame.

Micipſa, pleaſed with the great character that was ſent him of his nephew, changed his behaviour towards him, and reſolved, if poſſible, to win his affection by kindneſs. Accordingly, he adopted him; and by his will, made him joint-heir to his two ſons. Finding afterwards his end approaching, he ſent for all three, and bid them draw near his bed, where, in preſence of the whole court, he put Jugurtha in mind how good he had been to him; conjuring him, in the name of the gods, to defend and protect on all occaſions his children; who being before related to him by

* *Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas ſuæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros ſpe prædæ tranſverſos agit.* SALLUST.

† *Ac ſane, quod difficillimum imprimis eſt, et prælio ſtrenuus erat, et bonus conſilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet.*

the ties of blood, were now become his brethren, by his (Micipſa's) bounty. He told him, *that neither arms nor treaſure conſtitute the ſtrength of a kingdom, but friends, who are not won by arms or gold, but real ſervices and inviolable fidelity. Now where (ſays he) can we find better friends than our brothers? And how can that man, who becomes an enemy to his relations, repoſe any confidence in, or depend on ſtrangers? He exhorted his ſons to pay the higheſt reverence to Jugurtha; and to diſpute no otherwiſe with him, than by their endeavour to equal, and, if poſſible, ſurpaſs his exalted merit. He concluded with entreating them to obſerve for ever an inviolable attachment with regard to the Romans; and to conſider them as their benefactor, their patron, and maſter. A few days after this Micipſa expired. A. M. 3887. A. Rom. 631.

But Jugurtha ſoon threw off the maſk, and began by ridding himſelf of Hiempſal, who had expreſſed himſelf to him with great freedom, and therefore he got him murdered. This bloody action proved but too evidently to Adherbal what he himſelf might naturally fear, Numidia is now divided, and ſides ſeverally with the two brothers. Mighty armies are raiſed by each party. Adherbal, after loſing the greateſt part of his fortreſſes, is vanquiſhed in battle, and forced to make Rome his aſylum. However, this gave Jugurtha no very great uneaſineſs, as he knew that money was all-powerful in that city. He therefore ſent deputies thither, with orders for them to bribe the chief ſenators. In the firſt audience to which they were introduced, Adherbal repreſents the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, the injuſtice and barbarity of Jugurtha, the murder of his brother, the loſs of almoſt all his fortreſſes; but the circumſtance on which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs was, the commands of his dying father, *viz.* to put his whole confidence in the Romans; declaring that the friendſhip of this people would be a ſtronger ſupport both to himſelf and his kingdom, than all the troops and treaſures in the univerſe. His ſpeech was A. M. 3888. A. Rom. 632.

* *Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici: quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidem invenies, ſi tuis hoſtis fueris?*

of a great length, and extremely pathetic. Jugurtha's deputies made only the following anſwer; that Hiempſal had been killed by the Numidians, becauſe of his great cruelty; that Adherbal was the aggreſſor, and yet, after having been vanquiſhed, was come to make complaints, becauſe he had not committed all the exceſſes he deſired to act; that their ſovereign entreated the ſenate to form a judgment of his behaviour and conduct in Africa, from that he had ſhown at Numantia; and to lay a greater ſtreſs on his actions, than on the accuſations of his enemies. But theſe ambaſſadors had ſecretly employed an eloquence, much more prevalent than that of words, which had not proved ineffectual. The whole aſſembly was for Jugurtha, a few ſenators excepted, who were not ſo void of honour as to be corrupted by money. The ſenate came to this reſolution, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from Rome, to divide the provinces equally upon the ſpot between the two brothers. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that Jugurtha was not ſparing of his treaſure on this occaſion: the diviſion was made to his advantage; and yet a ſpecious appearance of equity was preſerved.

This firſt ſucceſs of Jugurtha augmented his courage and boldneſs. Accordingly he attacked his brother by open force; and whilſt the latter loſes his time in ſending deputations to the Romans, he ſtorms ſeveral fortreſſes, carries on his conqueſts, and, after defeating Adherbal, beſieges him in Cirtha, the capital of his kingdom. During this interval, ambaſſadors arrived from Rome with orders, in the name of the ſenate and people, to the two kings, to lay down their arms, and ceaſe all hoſtilities. Jugurtha, after proteſting that he would obey, with the moſt profound reverence and ſubmiſſion, the commands of the Roman people, added, that he did not believe it was their intention, to hinder him from defending his own life, againſt the treacherous ſnares which his brother had laid for it. He concluded with ſaying, that he would ſend ambaſſadors forthwith to Rome, to inform the ſenators of his conduct. By this random anſwer he eluded their orders, and would not even permit the deputies to wait on Adherbal.

Though the latter was ſo cloſely blocked up in his capital*, he yet found means to ſend to Rome to implore the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt his brother, who had beſieged him five months, and intended to take away his life. Some ſenators were of opinion, that war ought to be proclaimed immediately againſt Jugurtha; but ſtill his credit prevailed, and the Romans only ordered an embaſſy to be ſent, compoſed of ſenators of the higheſt diſtinction, among whom was Æmilius Scaurus, a factious man, who had a great aſcendant over the nobility, and concealed the blackeſt vices, under the ſpecious appearance of virtue. Jugurtha was terrified at firſt; but he again found an opportunity to elude their demands, and accordingly ſent them back without coming to any concluſion. Upon this, Adherbal, who had loſt all hopes, ſurrendered, upon condition of having his life ſpared; nevertheleſs he was immediately murdered with a great number of Numidians.

But though the greateſt part of the people at Rome were ſtruck with horror at this news, Jugurtha's money again obtained him defenders in the ſenate. However, C. Memmius, the tribune of the people, an active man, and who hated the nobility, prevailed with the former, not to ſuffer ſo horrid a crime to go unpuniſhed: and accordingly war being proclaimed againſt Jugurtha, Calpurnius Beſtia the conſul was appointed to carry it on. † He was endued with excellent qualities, but they were all depraved and rendered uſeleſs by his avarice. Scaurus ſet out with him. They at firſt took ſeveral towns; but Jugurtha's bribes checked the progreſs of theſe conqueſts; and Scaurus ‡ himſelf, who, till now, had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt animoſity againſt this prince, could not reſiſt ſo powerful an attack. A treaty was therefore concluded; Jugurtha feigned to ſubmit to

A. M. 3894. A. Rom. 683. Ant. J. C. 110.

* He choſe two of the nimbleſt of thoſe who had followed him into Cirtha; and theſe, induced by the great rewards he promiſed them, and pitying his unhappy circumſtances, undertook to paſs through the enemy's camp, in the night, to the neighbouring ſhore, and from thence to Rome. *Ex iis qui una Cirtham profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit: eos, multa pollicendo, ac miſerando caſum ſuum confirmat, uti per hoſtium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.* SALLUST.

† *Multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant quas omnes avaritia prope dicebat.*

‡ *Magnitudine pecuniæ a bonos honeſtoque in pravum abſtractus eſt.*

the Romans, and thirty elephants, ſome horſes, with a very inconſiderable ſum of money, were delivered to the quæſtor.

But now the indignation of the people in general at Rome diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. Memmius the tribune fired them with his ſpeeches. He cauſed Caſſius, who was prætor, to be appointed to attend Jugurtha; and to engage him to come to Rome, under the guarantee of the Romans, in order that an enquiry might be made in his preſence, who thoſe perſons were that had taken bribes. Accordingly, Jugurtha was forced to come to Rome. The ſight of him raiſed the anger of the people ſtill higher; but a tribune having been bribed, he prolonged the ſeſſion, and at laſt diſſolved it. A Numidian prince, grandſon of Maſiniſſa, called Maſſiva, being at that time in the city, was adviſed to ſolicit for Jugurtha's kingdom; which coming to the ears of the latter, he got him aſſaſſinated in the midſt of Rome. However, the murderer was ſeized, and delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, and Jugurtha was commanded to depart Italy. Upon leaving the city, he caſt back his eyes ſeveral times towards it and ſaid, "Rome wants only a purchaſer; and, were one to be found, it were inevitably ruined*."

And now the war broke out anew. At firſt the indolence, or perhaps connivance, of Albinus the conſul, made it go on very ſlowly; but afterwards, when he returned to Rome to hold the public aſſemblies†, the Roman army, by the unſkilfulneſs of his brother Aulus, having marched into a defile from whence there was no getting out, it ſurrendered ignominiouſly to the enemy, who forced the Romans to ſubmit to the ceremony of paſſing under the yoke, and made them engage to leave Numidia in ten days.

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that ſo ſhameful a peace, concluded without the authority of the people, was conſidered in a moſt odious light at Rome. They could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being ſucceſsful in this war, till the conduct of it was given to L. Metellus the

* *Poſtquam Roma egreſſus eſt, fertur ſæpe tacitus eo reſpiciens, poſtremo dixiſſe*, Urbem venalem et mature perituram, ſi emptorem invenerit.

† For electing magiſtrates, SAL.

conſul. *To all the reſt of the virtues which conſtitute the great captain, he added a perfect diſregard of wealth; a quality moſt eſſentially requiſite againſt ſuch an enemy as Jugurtha, who hitherto had always been victorious, rather by money than his ſword. But the African monarch found Metellus as inacceſſible in this, as in all other reſpects. He therefore was forced to venture his life, and exert his utmoſt bravery, through the defect of an expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly he ſignalized himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner; and ſhowed in this campaign, all that could be expected from the courage, abilities, and attention of an illuſtrious general, to whom deſpair adds new vigour, and ſuggeſts new lights: he was however unſucceſsful, becauſe oppoſed by a conſul, who did not ſuffer the moſt inconſiderable error to eſcape him, nor ever let ſlip an opportunity of taking advantage of the enemy.

Jugurtha's greateſt concern was, how to ſecure himſelf from traitors. From the time he had been told, that Bomilcar, in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence, had a deſign upon his life, he enjoyed no peace. He did not believe himſelf ſafe any where; but all things, by day as well as night, the citizen as well as foreigner, were ſuſpected by him; and the blackeſt terrors ſat for ever brooding over his mind. He never got a wink of ſleep, except by ſtealth; and often changed his bed, in a manner unbecoming his rank. Starting ſometimes from his ſlumbers, he would ſnatch his ſword, and break into loud cries; ſo ſtrongly was he haunted by fear, and ſo ſtrangely did he act the madman.

Marius was Metellus's lieutenant. His boundleſs ambition induced him to endeavour to leſſen his general's character ſecretly in the minds of his ſoldiers; and becoming ſoon his profeſſed enemy and ſlanderer, he at laſt, by the moſt grovelling and perfidious arts, prevailed ſo far, as to ſupplant Metellus, and get himſelf nominated in his room, to carry on the war againſt Jugurtha. †With what ſtrength of mind ſoever Metellus might be endued on other

* *In Numidiam proficiſcitur, magna ſpe civium, cum propter artes bonas, tum maxime quod adverſum divitias invictum animum gerebat.*

† *Quibus rebus ſupra bonum atque honeſtum perculſus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati.*

occaſions, he was totally dejected by this unforeſeen blow, which even forced tears from his eyes, and ſuch expreſſions, as were altogether unworthy ſo great a man. There was ſomething very dark and vile in Marius's procedure; a circumſtance that diſplays ambition in its native and genuine colours, and ſhows that it extinguiſhes, in thoſe who abandon themſelves to it, all ſenſe of honour and integrity. Metellus avoided a man whoſe ſight he could not bear, arrived in Rome, and was received there with univerſal acclamations. A triumph was decreed him, and the ſurname of Numidicus conferred upon him.

A. M. 3898. A. Rom. 642.

I thought it would be proper to ſuſpend, till I came to the Roman hiſtory, an account of the events that happened in Africa, under Metellus and Marius, all which are very circumſtantially deſcribed by Salluſt, in his admirable hiſtory of Jugurtha. I therefore haſten to the concluſion of this war.

Jugurtha being greatly diſtreſſed in his affairs, had recourſe to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whoſe daughter he had married. This country extends from Numidia, as far as beyond the ſhores of the Mediterranean, oppoſite to Spain*. The Roman name was ſcarce known in it, and the people as little known to the Romans. Jugurtha inſinuated to his father-in-law, that ſhould he ſuffer Numidia to be conquered, his kingdom would doubtleſs be involved in its ruin: eſpecially as the Romans, who were ſworn enemies to monarchy, ſeemed to have vowed the deſtruction of all the thrones in the univerſe. He therefore prevailed with Bocchus to enter into a league with him; and accordingly received, on different occaſions, very conſiderable ſuccours from that king.

This confederacy, which was cemented on either ſide by no other tie but that of intereſt, had never been ſtrong, and a laſt defeat which Jugurtha met with broke at once all the bands of it. Bocchus now meditated the dark deſign of delivering up his ſon-in-law to the Romans. For this purpoſe he had deſired Marius to ſend him a truſty perſon. Sylla, who was an officer of uncommon merit, and ſerved under him as quæſtor, was thought every way qualified for

* Now comprehending Fez, Morocco, &c.

this negociation. He was not afraid to put himſelf into the hands of the Barbarian king; and accordingly ſet out for his court. Being arrived, Bocchus who, like the reſt of his countrymen, did not pride himſelf in ſincerity, and was for ever projecting new deſigns, debated within himſelf, whether it would not be his intereſt to deliver up Sylla to Jugurtha. He was a long time fluctuating with uncertainty, and between a contrariety of ſentiments: and the ſudden changes which diſplayed themſelves in his countenance, in his air, and his whole perſon, ſhowed evidently how ſtrongly his mind was affected. At length, returning to his firſt deſign, he made his terms with Sylla, and delivered up Jugurtha into his hands, who was ſent immediately to Marius.

[b] Sylla, ſays Plutarch*, acted on this occaſion, like a young man, fired with a ſtrong thirſt of glory, the ſweets of which he has juſt begun to taſte. Inſtead of aſcribing to the general under whom he fought, all the honour of this event, as his duty required, and which ought to be an inviolable maxim, he reſerved the greateſt part of it to himſelf, and had a ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was repreſented receiving Jugurtha from the hands of Bocchus; and this ring he uſed ever after as his ſignet. But Marius was ſo highly exaſperated at this kind of inſult; that he could never forgive him; a circumſtance that gave riſe to the implacable hatred between theſe two Romans which afterwards broke out with ſo much fury, and coſt the republic ſo much blood.

[c] Marius entered Rome in triumph, exhibiting ſuch a ſpectacle to the Romans, as they could ſcarce believe they ſaw, when it paſſed before their eyes; I mean, Jugurtha in chains; that ſo formidable an enemy, during whoſe life they could not flatter themſelves with the hopes of being able to put an end to this war; ſo well was his courage ſuſtained by ſtratagem and artifice, and his genius ſo fruitful in finding new expedients, even when his affairs were moſt deſperate. We are told, that Jugurtha run diſtracted, A. M. 3901. A. Rom. 645. Ant. J. C. 103.

[b] Plut. in vit. Marii. [c] Plut. ibid.

* Οια νεῳ φιλοτιμῳ, αρτι δοξης γεγευμενῳ, ουκ ηνεγκε πεπειρως το ευτυχημα. Plut. Precept. reip. gerend. p. 806.

as he was walking in the triumph; that after the ceremony was ended, he was thrown into priſon; and that the lictors were ſo eager to ſeize his robe that they rent it in ſeveral pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was caſt quite naked, and in the utmoſt terrors, into a deep dungeon, where he ſpent ſix days in ſtruggling with hunger and the fear of death, retaining a ſtrong deſire of life to his laſt gaſp: an end, continues Plutarch, worthy of his wicked deeds; Jugurtha having been always of opinion, that the greateſt crimes might be committed to ſatiate his ambition, ingratitude, perfidy, black treachery, and inhuman barbarity.

Juba, king of Mauritania, reflected ſo much honour on polite literature and the ſciences, that I could not without impropriety, omit him in the hiſtory of the family of Maſiniſſa, to whom his father, who alſo was named Juba, was great grandſon, and grandſon of Guluſſa. The elder Juba ſignalized himſelf in the war between Cæſar and Pompey, by his inviolable attachment to the party of the latter hero. He ſlew himſelf after the battle of Thapſus, in which his forces and thoſe of Scipio, were entirely defeated. Juba, his ſon, then a child, was delivered up to the conqueror, and was one of the moſt conſpicuous ornaments of his triumph. It appears from hiſtory that a noble education was beſtowed upon Juba in Rome, where he imbibed ſuch a variety of knowledge, as afterwards equalled him to the moſt learned Grecians. He did not leave that city till he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. Auguſtus reſtored them to him, when, by the death of Mark Antony, the provinces of the empire were abſolutely at his diſpoſal. Juba, by the lenity of his government, gained the hearts of all his ſubjects; who, out of a grateful ſenſe of the felicity they had enjoyed during his reign, ranked him in the number of their gods. Pauſanias ſpeaks of a ſtatue which the Athenians erected to his honour. It was indeed juſt, that a city, which had been conſecrated in all ages to the muſes, ſhould give public teſtimonies of its eſteem for a king, who made ſo bright a figure among the learned.

A. M. 3794. A. Rom. 719. Ant. J. C. 30.

* Suidas aſcribes ſeveral works to this prince, of which only the fragments are now extant. He had written the hiſtory of Arabia; the antiquities of Aſſyria, and thoſe of the Romans; the hiſtory of theatres, of painting, and painters; of the nature and properties of different animals, and of grammar, &c. a catalogue of all which is given in Abbé Sevin's ſhort diſſertation on the life and works of the younger Juba †, whence I have extracted theſe few particulars.

* In voce Ιοβας.

† Vol. IV. of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, p. 457.

BOOK THE THIRD.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ASSYRIANS.

This Book will contain the Hiſtory of the Aſſyrian Empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon, the Kingdom of the Medes, and the Kingdom of the Lydians.

CHAP. I.

The firſt Empire of the Aſſyrians.

SECT. I. *Duration of that Empire.*

THE Aſſyrian empire was undoubtedly one of the moſt powerful in the world. As to the length of its duration, two particular opinions have chiefly prevailed. Some authors, as Cteſias, whoſe opinion is followed by Juſtin, give it a duration of thirteen hundred years: others reduce it to five hundred and twenty, of which number is Herodotus. The diminution, or rather the interruption of power, which happened in this vaſt empire, might poſſibly give occaſion to this difference of opinion, and may perhaps ſerve in ſome meaſure to reconcile it.

The hiſtory of thoſe early times is ſo obſcure, the monuments which convey it down to us ſo contrary to each other, and the ſyſtems of the * moderns upon that matter ſo different, that it is difficult to lay down any opinion about

* They that are curious to ſee more of this matter may read the diſſertations of Abbot Banier and Mr. Freret upon the Aſſyrian empire, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres; for the firſt, ſee Tome 3, and for the other, Tome 5; as alſo what Father Tournemine has written upon this ſubject in this edition of Menochius.

it, as certain and inconteſtible. But where certainty is not to be had, I ſuppoſe a reaſonable perſon will be ſatisfied with probability; and, in my opinion, a man can hardly be deceived, if he makes the Aſſyrian empire equal in antiquity with the city of Babylon, its capital. Now we learn from the holy ſcripture, that this was built by Nimrod, who certainly was a great conqueror, and in all appearance the firſt and moſt ancient that ever aſpired after that denomination.

[a] The Babylonians, as Caliſthenes, a philoſopher in Alexander's retinue, wrote to Ariſtotle, reckoned themſelves to be at leaſt of 1903 years ſtanding, when that prince entered triumphant into Babylon; which makes their origin reach back to the year of the world 1771, that is to ſay, 115 years after the deluge. This computation comes within a few years of the time we ſuppoſe Nimrod to have founded that city. Indeed this teſtimony of Caliſthenes, as it does not agree with any other accounts of that matter, is not eſteemed authentic by the learned; but the conformity we find between that and the holy ſcriptures ſhould make us regard it.

Upon theſe grounds I think we may allow Nimrod to have been the founder of the firſt Aſſyrian empire, which ſubſiſted with more or leſs extent and glory upwards of * 1450 years, from the time of Nimrod to that of Sardanapalus, the laſt king, that is to ſay, from the year of the world 1800 to the year 3257.

A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204. NIMROD. He is the ſame with † Belus, who was afterwards worſhipped as a god under that appellation.

He was the ſon of Chuz, grandſon of Cham, and great grandſon of Noah. He was, ſays the ſcripture, *a mighty hunter before the Lord*[c]. In applying himſelf to this laborious and dangerous exerciſe, he had two things in view; the firſt was to gain the people's affection, by delivering them from the fury and dread of wild beaſts; the next was, to train up numbers of young people by this exerciſe of

[a] Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de cœlo. [c] Gen. x. 9.

* Here I depart from the opinion of Biſhop Uſher, my ordinary guide, with reſpect to the duration of the Aſſyrian empire, which he ſuppoſes, with Herodotus, to have laſted but 520 years; but the time when Nimrod lived, and Sardanapalus died, I take from him.

† Belus or Baal ſignifies Lord.

hunting to endure labour and hardſhip, to form them to the uſe of arms, to inure them to a kind of diſcipline and obedience, that at a proper time after they had been accuſtomed to his orders, and ſeaſoned in arms, he might make uſe of them for other purpoſes more ſerious than hunting.

In ancient hiſtory we find ſome footſteps remaining of this artifice of Nimrod, whom the writers have confounded with Ninus his ſon[d]: for Diodorus has theſe words; "Ninus, the moſt ancient of the Aſſyrian kings, mentioned in hiſtory, performed great actions. Being naturally of a warlike diſpoſition, and ambitious of glory that reſults from valour, he armed a conſiderable number of young men that were brave and vigorous, like himſelf: trained them up a long time in laborious exerciſes and hardſhips, and by that means accuſtomed them to bear the fatigues of war patiently, and to face dangers with courage and intrepidity."

[e] What the ſame author adds, that Ninus entered into an alliance with the king of the Arabs, and joined forces with him, is a piece of ancient tradition, which informs us, that the ſons of Chus, and by conſequence the brothers of Nimrod, all ſettled themſelves in Arabia, along the Perſian gulf, from Havila to the Ocean; and lived near enough their brother to lend him ſuccours, or to receive them from him. And what the ſame hiſtorian further ſays of Ninus, that he was the firſt king of the Aſſyrians, agrees exactly with what the ſcripture ſays of Nimrod, *that he began to be mighty upon the earth*; that is, he procured himſelf ſettlements, built cities, ſubdued his neighbours, united different people under one and the ſame authority, by the band of the ſame polity and the ſame laws, and formed them into one ſtate; which for thoſe early times was of a conſiderable extent, though bounded by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris; and which in ſucceeding ages made new acquiſitions by degrees, and at length extended its conqueſts very far.

[f] *The capital city of his kingdom*, ſays the ſcripture, *was Babylon*. Moſt of the profane hiſtorians aſcribe the founding of Babylon to * Semiramis, the reſt to Belus. It is

[d] Lib. ii. p. 90. [e] Ibid. [f] Gen. x. 10.

* *Semiramis eam condiderat, vel, ut plerique tradidere, Belus, cujus regia oſtenditur.* Q. Curt. lib. v. c. 1.

viſible that both the one and the other are miſtaken, if they ſpeak of the firſt founding of that city; for it owes its beginning neither to Semiramis nor to Nimrod, but to the fooliſh vanity of thoſe perſons mentioned in ſcripture [g] who deſired to build a tower and a city, that ſhould render their memory immortal.

[h] Joſephus relates, upon the teſtimony of a Sybil (which muſt have been very ancient, and whoſe fictions cannot be imputed to the indiſcreet zeal of any Chriſtians) that the gods threw down the tower by an impetuous wind, or a violent hurricane. Had this been the caſe, Nimrod's temerity muſt have been ſtill the greater, to rebuild a city and a tower, which God himſelf had overthrown with ſuch marks of his diſpleaſure. But the ſcripture ſays no ſuch thing; and it is very probable, the building remained in the condition it was, when God put an end to the work by the confuſion of languages; and that the tower conſecrated to Belus, which is deſcribed by Herodotus [i], was this very tower which the ſons of men pretended to raiſe to the clouds.

It is further probable, that this ridiculous deſign being defeated by ſuch an aſtoniſhing prodigy as none could be the author of but God himſelf, every body abandoned the place, which had given him offence; and that Nimrod was the firſt who encompaſſed it afterwards with walls, ſettled therein his friends and confederates, and ſubdued thoſe that lived round about it, beginning his empire in that place, but not confining it to ſo narrow a compaſs: *Fuit principium regni ejus Babylon.* The other cities, which the ſcripture ſpeaks of in the ſame place, were in the land of Shinar, which was certainly the province, of which Babylon became the metropolis.

From this country he went into that which has the name of Aſſyria, and there built Nineveh: [k] *De terra illa egreſſus eſt Aſſur, et ædificavit Nineven.* This is the ſenſe in which many learned men underſtand the word Aſſur, looking upon it as the name of a province, and not of the firſt man who poſſeſſed it; as if it were, *egreſſus eſt in Aſſur, in Aſſy-*

[g] Gen. xi. 4. [h] Hiſt. Jud. l. i. c. 4.
[i] Lib. i. c. 181. [k] Gen. x. 11.

rium. And this ſeems to be the moſt natural conſtruction for many reaſons not neceſſary to be recited in this place. The country of Aſſyria in one of the prophets [l] is deſcribed by the particular character of being the land of Nimrod: *Et paſcent terram Aſſur in gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis ejus; et liberabit ab Aſſur, cum venerit in terram noſtram.* It derived its name from Aſſur the ſon of Shem, who without doubt had ſettled himſelf and family there, and was probably driven out, or brought under ſubjection by the uſurper Nimrod.

This conqueror, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the provinces of Aſſur, [m] did not ravage them like a tyrant, but filled them with cities, and made himſelf as much beloved by his new ſubjects as he was by his old ones: ſo that the hiſtorians, [n] who have not examined into the bottom of the affair, have thought that he made uſe of the Aſſyrians to conquer the Babylonians. Among other cities he built one more large and magnificent than the reſt, which he called Nineveh, from the name of his ſon Ninus, in order to immortalize his memory. The ſon in his turn, out of veneration for his father, was willing that they who had ſerved him as their king, ſhould adore him as their god, and induce other nations to render him the ſame worſhip. For it appears plainly, that Nimrod is the famous Belus of the Babylonians, the firſt king whom the people deified for his great actions, and who ſhowed others the way to that ſort of immortality, which may reſult from human accompliſhments.

I intend to ſpeak of the mighty ſtrength and greatneſs of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, under the kings to whom their building is aſcribed by profane authors, becauſe the ſcripture ſays little or nothing on that ſubject. This ſilence of ſcripture, ſo little ſatisfactory to our curioſity, may become an inſtructive leſſon for our piety. The holy pen-man has placed Nimrod and Abraham, as it were, in one view before us; and ſeems to have put them ſo near together on purpoſe, that we ſhould ſee an example in the former of what is admired and coveted by men, and in the

[l] Mic. v. 6. [m] Gen. x. 11, 12.
[n] Diod. l. i. p. 90.

latter of what is acceptable and well-pleaſing to God*. Theſe two perſons ſo unlike one another, are the two firſt and chief citizens of two different cities, built on different motives, and with different principles; the one ſelf-love, and a deſire of temporal advantages, carried even to the contemning of the Deity; the other the love of God, even to the contemning of one's ſelf.

NINUS. I have already obſerved, that moſt of the profane authors look upon him as the firſt founder of the Aſſyrian empire, and for that reaſon aſcribe to him a great part of his father Nimrod's or Belus's actions.

[o] Having a deſign to enlarge his conqueſts, the firſt thing he did was to prepare troops and officers capable of promoting his deſign. And having received powerful ſuccours from the Arabians his neighbours, he took the field, and in the ſpace of ſeventeen years conquered a vaſt extent of country, from Egypt as far as India and Bactriana, which he did not then venture to attack.

At his return, before he entered upon any new conqueſts, he conceived the deſign of immortalizing his name by the building of a city anſwerable to the greatneſs of his power; he called it Nineveh, and built it on the eaſtern banks of the † Tigris. Poſſibly he did no more than finiſh the work his father had begun. His deſign, ſays Diodorus, was to make Nineveh the largeſt and nobleſt city in the world, and not leave it in the power of thoſe that came after him, ever to build, or hope to build ſuch another. Nor was he deceived in his view, for never did any city come up to the greatneſs and magnificence of this: it was one hundred and fifty ſtadia (or eighteen miles three quarters) in length, and ninety ſtadia (or eleven miles and one quarter) in breadth; and conſequently was an oblong ſquare. Its circumference was four hundred and eighty ſtadia, or ſixty miles. For this reaſon we find it ſaid in the prophet Jonah, "[p] That

[o] Diod. l. ii. p. 90—95. [p] Jon. iii. 3.

* *Fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam ſcilicet amor ſui uſque ad contemptum Dei; cæleſtum vero amor Dei uſque ad contemptum ſui.* S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xiv. c. 28.

† Diodorus ſays it was on the bank of the Euphrates, and ſpeaks of it as if it was ſo, in many places; but he is miſtaken.

Nineveh was an exceeding great city, of three days journey; which is to be underſtood of the whole circuit, or compaſs of the city*. The walls of it were a hundred feet high, and of ſo conſiderable a thickneſs, that three chariots might go a-breaſt upon them with eaſe. They were fortified and adorned with fifteen hundred towers two hundred feet high.

After he had finiſhed this prodigious work, he reſumed his expedition againſt the Bactrians. His army, according to the relation of Cteſias, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, two hundred thouſand horſe, and about ſixteen thouſand chariots, armed with ſcythes. Diodorus adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, ſince, not to mention the innumerable armies of Darius and Xerxes, the ſingle city of Syracuſe, in the time of Dionyſius the tyrant, furniſhed one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, beſides four hundred veſſels well equipped and provided. And a little before Hannibal's time, Italy, including the citizens and allies, was able to ſend into the field near a million of men. Ninus made himſelf maſter of a great number of cities, and at laſt laid ſiege to Bactria, the capital of the country. Here he would probably have ſeen all his attempts miſcarry, had it not been for the diligence and aſſiſtance of Semiramis, wife to one of his chief officers, a woman of an uncommon courage, and particularly exempt from the weakneſs of her ſex. She was born at Aſcalon, a city of Syria. I think it needleſs to recite the account Diodorus gives of her birth, and of the miraculous manner of her being nurſed and brought up by pigeons, ſince that hiſtorian himſelf looks upon it only as a fabulous ſtory. It was Semiramis that directed Ninus how to attack the citadel, and by her means he took it, and then became maſter of the city, in which he found an immenſe treaſure. The huſband of this lady having killed himſelf to prevent the effects of the king's threats and indignation, who had conceived a violent paſſion for his wife. Ninus married Semiramis.

* It is hard to believe that Diodorus does not ſpeak of the bigneſs of Nineveh with ſome exaggeration: therefore ſome learned men have reduced the ſtadium to little more than one half, and reckon fifteen of them to the Roman mile inſtead of eight.

After his return to Nineveh, he had a ſon by her, whom he called Ninyas. Not long after this he died, and left the queen the government of the kingdom. She in honour of his memory erected him a magnificent monument, which remained a long time after the ruin of Nineveh.

[q] I find no appearance of truth in what ſome authors relate concerning the manner of Semiramis's coming to the throne. According to them, having ſecured the chief men of the ſtate, and attached them to her intereſt by her benefactions and promiſes, ſhe ſolicited the king with great importunity to put the ſovereign power into her hands for the ſpace of five days. He yielded to her entreaties, and all the provinces of the empire were commanded to obey Semiramis. Theſe orders were executed but too exactly for the unfortunate Ninus, who was put to death, either immediately, or after ſome years impriſonment.

SEMIRAMIS. [r] This princeſs applied all her thoughts to immortalize her name, and to cover the meanneſs of her extraction by the greatneſs of her deeds and enterpriſes. She propoſed to herſelf to ſurpaſs all her predeceſſors in magnificence, and to that end ſhe undertook the * building of the mighty Babylon, in which work ſhe employed two millions of men, which were collected out of all the provinces of her vaſt empire. Some of her ſucceſſors endeavoured to adorn that city with new works and embelliſhments. I ſhall here ſpeak of them all together, in order to give the reader a more clear and diſtinct idea of that ſtupendous city.

The principal works, which rendered Babylon ſo famous, are the walls of the city; the keys and the bridge; the lake, banks, and canals made for the draining of the river; the palaces, hanging gardens, and the temple of Belus; works of ſuch a ſurpriſing magnificence, as is ſcarce to be comprehended. Dr. Prideaux having treated this matter with great extent and learning, I have only to copy, or rather abridge him.

[q] Plut. in Mor. p. 763. [r] Diod. l. ii. p. 95.

* We are not to wonder, if we find the founding of a city aſcribed to different perſons. It is common, even among the profane writers, to ſay, Such a prince built ſuch a city, whether he was the perſon that firſt founded it, or that only embelliſhed or enlarged it.

I. *The Walls.*

[*] Babylon ſtood on a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil. The walls were every way prodigious. They were in thickneſs eighty-ſeven feet, in height three hundred and fifty, and in compaſs four hundred and eighty furlongs, which makes ſixty of our miles. Theſe walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact ſquare, each ſide of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs*, or fifteen miles in length, and all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous ſlime ariſing out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much ſtronger and firmer than lime, and ſoon grows much harder than the bricks or ſtones themſelves which it cements together.

Theſe walls were ſurrounded on the outſide with a vaſt ditch, full of water, and lined with bricks on both ſides. The earth that was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vaſt height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatneſs of the ditch.

In every ſide of this great ſquare were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of ſolid braſs; and hence it is, that when God promiſed to Cyrus the conqueſt of Babylon, he tells him, "[t] That he would break in pieces before him the gates of braſs." Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between each of theſe corners and the next gate on either ſide; every one of theſe towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe parts of the wall, where there was need of towers.

From the twenty-five gates in each ſide of this great ſquare went twenty-five ſtreets, in ſtraight lines to the

[*] Her. l. i. c. 178, 180. Diod. l. ii. p. 95, 96. Q. Curt. l. v. c. i.

[t] Iſa. xlv. 2.

* I relate things as I find them in the ancient authors, which Dean Prideaux has alſo done; but I cannot help believing that great abatements are to be made in what they ſay as to the immenſe extent of Babylon and Nineveh.

gates, which were directly over-againſt them in the oppoſite ſide; ſo that the whole number of the ſtreets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly croſſing each other at right angles. And beſides theſe, there were alſo four half ſtreets, which had houſes only on one ſide and the wall on the other; theſe went round the four ſides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad; the reſt were about a hundred and fifty. By theſe ſtreets thus croſſing each other, the whole city was cut out into ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix ſquares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every ſide, that is, two miles and a quarter in circumference. [u] Round theſe ſquares, on every ſide towards the ſtreets, ſtood the houſes (which were not contiguous, but had void ſpaces between them) all built three or four ſtories high, and beautified with all manner of ornaments towards the ſtreets. The ſpace within, in the middle of each ſquare, was likewiſe all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other ſuch uſes; ſo that Babylon was greater in appearance than reality, near one half of the city being taken up in gardens and other cultivated lands, as we are told by Q. Curtius.

II. *The Keys and Bridge.*

[x] A branch of the river Euphrates ran quite acroſs the city, from the north to the ſouth ſide; on each ſide of the river was a key, and a high wall built of brick and bitumen, of the ſame thickneſs as the walls that went round the city. In theſe walls, over-againſt every ſtreet that led to the river, were gates of braſs, and from them deſcents by ſteps to the river, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who uſed to paſs over from one ſide to the other in boats, having no other way of croſſing the river before the building of the bridge. Theſe brazen gates were always open in the day time, and ſhut in the night.

The bridge was not inferior to any of the other buildings either in beauty or magnificence; it was a * furlong in

[u] Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1. [x] Her. l. i. c. 180 & 186. Diod. l. ii. p. 96.

* Diodorus ſays, this bridge was five furlongs in length, which can hardly be true, ſince the Euphrates was but one furlong broad. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to ſupply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. The arches were made of huge ſtones, faſtened together with chains of iron and melted lead. Before they begun to build the bridge, they turned the courſe of the river, and laid its channel dry, having another view in ſo doing beſides that of laying the foundations more commodiouſly, as I ſhall explain hereafter. And as every thing was prepared before-hand, both the bridge and the keys, which I have already deſcribed, were built in that interval.

III. *The Lake, Ditches, and Canals, made for the draining of the River.*

Theſe works, objects of admiration for the ſkilful in all ages, were ſtill more uſeful than magnificent. [y] In the beginning of the ſummer, on the ſun's melting the ſnow upon the mountains of Armenia, there ariſes a vaſt increaſe of waters, which running into the Euphrates in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, makes it overflow its banks, and occaſions ſuch another inundation as the Nile does in Egypt. [z] To prevent the damage which both the city and country received from theſe inundations, at a very conſiderable diſtance above the town two artificial canals were cut, which turned the courſe of theſe waters into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon. [a] And to ſecure the country yet more from the danger of inundations, and to keep the river within its channel, they raiſed prodigious artificial banks on both ſides the river, built of brick cemented with bitumen, which begun at the head of the artificial canals and extended below the city.

To facilitate the making of theſe works, it was neceſſary to turn the courſe of the river another way; for which purpoſe, to the weſt of Babylon, was dug a prodigious artificial lake, * forty miles ſquare, one hundred and ſixty

[y] Strab. l. xvi. p. 740. Plin. l. v. c. 26.
[z] Abyd. ap. Euſ. Præp. Evang. l. ix.
[a] Abyd. ib. Her. l. i. c. 185.

* The author follows Herodotus, who makes it four hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifty-two miles ſquare; but I choſe to follow Dean Prideaux who in that prefers the account of Megaſthenes.

in compaſs, and thirty-five feet deep according to Herodotus, and ſeventy-five according to Megaſthenes. Into this lake was the whole river turned, by an artificial canal cut from the weſt ſide of it, till the whole work was finiſhed, when it was made to flow in its former channel. But that the Euphrates in the time of its increaſe might not overflow the city, through the gates on its ſides, this lake, with the canal from the river, was ſtill preſerved. The water received into the lake at the time of theſe overflowings was kept there all the year, as in a common reſervoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by ſluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. The lake therefore was equally uſeful in defending the country from inundations, and making it fertile. I relate the wonders of Babylon, as they are delivered down to us by the ancients; but there are ſome of them which are ſcarce to be comprehended or believed, of which number is the lake I have deſcribed, I mean with reſpect to its vaſt extent.

Beroſus, Megaſthenes, and Abydenus, quoted by Joſephus and Euſebius, make Nebuchadnezzar the author of moſt of theſe works; but Herodotus aſcribes the bridge, the two keys of the river, and the lake, to Nitocris, the daughter-in-law of that monarch. Perhaps Nitocris might only finiſh what her father left imperfect at his death, on which account that hiſtorian might give her the honour of the whole undertaking.

IV. *The Palaces and the Hanging Gardens.*

[b] At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces, which had a communication with each other by a vault, built under the channel of the river at the time of its being dry. The whole palace which ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river, was thirty furlongs (or three miles and three quarters in compaſs; near which ſtood the temple of Belus, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. The new palace, which ſtood on the weſt ſide of the river, oppoſite to the other, was ſixty furlongs (or ſeven miles and a half) in compaſs. It was ſurrounded with three walls, one within another, with

[b] Diod. l. ii. p. 96, 97.

conſiderable ſpaces between them. Theſe walls, as alſo thoſe of the other palace, were embelliſhed with an infinite variety of ſculptures, repreſenting all kinds of animals to the life. Amongſt the reſt was a curious hunting piece, in which Semiramis, on horſeback, was throwing her javelin at a leopard, and her huſband Ninus piercing a lion.

[c] In this laſt, or new palace, were the Hanging Gardens, ſo celebrated among the Greeks. They contained a ſquare of four plethra (that is, of four hundred feet) on every ſide, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of ſeveral large terraſſes, one above another, till the height equalled that of the walls of the city. The aſcent was from terraſs to terraſs, by ſtairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was ſuſtained by vaſt arches, raiſed upon other arches, one above another, and ſtrengthened by a wall, ſurrounding it on every ſide, of twenty-two feet thickneſs. On the top of the arches were firſt laid large flat ſtones, ſixteen feet long, and four broad: over theſe was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, upon which were two rows of bricks, cloſely cemented together with plaiſter. The whole was covered with thick ſheets of lead, upon which lay the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moiſture of the mould from running away through the arches. The mould, or earth, laid hereon, was ſo deep, that the greateſt trees might take root in it; and with ſuch the terraſſes were covered, as well as with all other plants and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleaſure. In the upper terraſs there was an engine, or kind of pump, by which water was drawn up out of the river, and from thence the whole garden was watered. In the ſpaces between the ſeveral arches, upon which this whole ſtructure reſted, were large and magnificent apartments, that were very light, and had the advantage of a beautiful proſpect.

[d] Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for ſhe was the daughter of Aſtyages, the king of that country) had been much taken with the mountains and woody parts of that country. And as ſhe deſired to

[c] Diod. p. 98, 99. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1.
[d] Beroſ. ap. Joſ. con. App. l. i. c. 6.

have ſomething like it in Babylon, Nebuchodonoſor, to gratify her, cauſed this prodigious edifice to be erected: Diodorus gives much the ſame account of the matter, but without naming the perſons.

V. *The Temple of Belus.*

[e] Another of the great works at Babylon was the temple of Belus, which ſtood, as I have mentioned already, near the old palace. It was moſt remarkable for a prodigious tower that ſtood in the middle of it. At the foundation, according to Herodotus, it was a ſquare of a furlong on each ſide, that is, half a mile in the whole compaſs, and (according to Strabo) it was alſo a furlong in height. It conſiſted of eight towers, built one above the other; and becauſe it decreaſed gradually to the top, Strabo calls the whole a pyramid. It is not only aſſerted, but proved, that this tower much exceeded the greateſt of the pyramids of Egypt in height. Therefore we have good reaſon to believe, as [f] Bochartus aſſerts, that this is the very ſame tower which was built there at the confuſion of languages; and the rather, becauſe it is atteſted by ſeveral profane authors, that this tower was all built of bricks and bitumen, as the ſcriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. The aſcent to the top was by ſtairs on the outſide round it; that is, perhaps, there was an eaſy ſloping aſcent in the ſide of the outer wall, which turning by very ſlow degrees in a ſpiral line eight times round the tower from the bottom to the top, had the ſame appearance as if there had been eight towers placed upon one another. In theſe different ſtories were many large rooms, with arched roofs ſupported by pillars. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an obſervatory, by the benefit of which the Babylonians became more expert in aſtronomy than all other nations, and made in a ſhort time the great progreſs in it aſcribed to them in hiſtory.

But the chief uſe to which this tower was deſigned, was the worſhip of the god Belus, or Baal, as alſo that of

[e] Herod. l. i. c. 181. Diod. l. ii. p. 98. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738.

[f] Phal. part. I. l. i. c. 9.

ſeveral other deities; for which reaſon there was a multitude of chapels in the different parts of the tower. The riches of this temple in ſtatues, tables, cenſers, cups, and other ſacred veſſels, all of maſſy gold, were immenſe. Among other images, there was one of forty feet high, which weighed a thouſand Babyloniſh talents. The Babyloniſh talent, according to Pollux, in his *Onomaſticon*, contained ſeven thouſand Attic drachmas, and conſequently was a ſixth part more than the Attic talent, which contains but ſix thouſand drachmas.

According to the calculation which Diodorus makes, the riches contained in this temple, the ſum total amounts to ſix thouſand three hundred Babyloniſh talents of gold.

The ſixth part of ſix thouſand three hundred is one thouſand and fifty; conſequently ſix thouſand three hundred Babyloniſh talents of gold are equivalent to ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold.

Now ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of ſilver are worth upwards of two millions, and one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The proportion between gold and ſilver among the ancients we reckon as ten to one; therefore ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty Attic talents of gold amount to above one and twenty millions ſterling.

[g] This temple ſtood till the time of Xerxes; but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demoliſhed it entirely, after having firſt plundered it of all its immenſe riches. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purpoſed to have rebuilt it; and in order thereto, ſet ten thouſand men to work, to rid the place of its rubbiſh; but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, and that put an end to the undertaking.

Such were the chief works which rendered Babylon ſo famous; ſome of them are aſcribed by profane authors to Semiramis, to whoſe hiſtory it is now time to return.

[h] When ſhe had finiſhed all theſe great undertakings, ſhe thought fit to make a progreſs through the ſeveral parts of her empire; and, wherever ſhe came, left monuments of

[g] Herod. l. i. c. 183. Strab. l. xv. p. 738. Arrian. l. vii. p. 480.

[h] Diod. l. ii. p. 100—108.

her magnificence by many noble ſtructures which ſhe erected, either for the conveniency, or ornament of her cities; ſhe applied herſelf particularly to have water brought by aqueducts to ſuch places as wanted it, and to make the highways eaſy, by cutting through mountains, and filling up valleys. In the time of Diodorus, there were ſtill monuments to be ſeen in many places, with her name inſcribed upon them.

[a] The authority this queen had over her people ſeems very extraordinary, ſince we find her preſence alone capable of appeaſing a ſedition. One day, as ſhe was dreſſing herſelf, word was brought her of a tumult in the city. Whereupon ſhe went out immediately, with her hair half dreſſed, and did not retire till the diſturbance was entirely appeaſed. A ſtatue was erected in remembrance of this action, repreſenting her in that very attitude and the undreſs, which had not hindered her from flying to her duty.

Not ſatisfied with the vaſt extent of dominions left her by her huſband, ſhe enlarged them by the conqueſt of a great part of Æthiopia. Whilſt ſhe was in that country, ſhe had the curioſity to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to enquire of the oracle how long ſhe had to live. According to Diodorus, the anſwer ſhe received was, that ſhe ſhould not die till her ſon Ninyas conſpired againſt her, and that after her death one part of Aſia would pay her divine honours.

Her greateſt and laſt expedition was againſt India; on this occaſion ſhe raiſed an innumerable army out of all the provinces of her empire, and appointed Bactra for the rendezvous. As the ſtrength of the Indians conſiſted chiefly in their great number of elephants, this artful queen had a multitude of camels accoutred in the form of elephants, in hopes of deceiving the enemy. It is ſaid that Perſeus long after uſed the ſame ſtratagem againſt the Romans; but neither of them ſucceeded in this ſtratagem. The Indian king having notice of her approach, ſent ambaſſadors to aſk her who ſhe was, and with what right, having never received any injury from him, ſhe came out of wantonneſs to attack his dominions; adding, that her boldneſs ſhould ſoon meet

[a] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3.

with the puniſhment it deſerved. Tell your maſter (replied the queen) that in a little time I myſelf will let him know who I am. She advanced immediately towards the *river, from which the country takes its name; and having prepared a ſufficient number of boats, ſhe attempted to paſs it with her army. Their paſſage was a long time diſputed, but after a bloody battle ſhe put her enemies to flight. Above a thouſand of their boats were ſunk, and above a hundred thouſand of their men taken priſoners. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſhe advanced directly into the country, leaving ſixty thouſand men behind to guard the bridge of boats, which ſhe had built over the river. This was juſt what the king deſired, who fled on purpoſe to bring her to an engagement in the heart of his country. As ſoon as he thought her far enough advanced, he faced about, and a ſecond engagement enſued, more bloody than the firſt. The counterfeit elephants could not long ſuſtain the ſhock of the true ones. Theſe routed her army, cruſhing whatever came in their way. Semiramis did all that could be done, to rally and encourage her troops, but in vain. The king, perceiving her engaged in the fight, advanced towards her, and wounded her in two places, but not mortally. The ſwiftneſs of her horſe ſoon carried her beyond the reach of her enemies. As her men crowded to the bridge, to repaſs the river, great numbers of them periſhed, through the diſorder and confuſion unavoidable on ſuch occaſions. When thoſe that could ſave themſelves were ſafely over, ſhe deſtroyed the bridge, and by that means ſtopped the enemy; and the king likewiſe, in obedience to an oracle, had given orders to his troops not to paſs the river, nor purſue Semiramis any farther. The queen, having made an exchange of priſoners at Bactra, returned to her own dominions with ſcarce one third of her army, which (according to Cteſias) conſiſted of three hundred thouſand foot, and fifty thouſand horſe, beſides the camels and chariots armed for war, of which ſhe had a very conſiderable number. She, and Alexander after her, were the only perſons that ever ventured to carry the war beyond the river Indus.

* Indus.

I muſt own I am ſomewhat puzzled with a difficulty which may be raiſed againſt the extraordinary things related of Ninus and Semiramis, as they do not ſeem to agree with the times ſo near the deluge: ſuch vaſt armies, I mean, ſuch a numerous cavalry, ſo many chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſuch immenſe treaſures of gold and ſilver; all which ſeem to be of a later date. The ſame thing may likewiſe be ſaid of the magnificence of the buildings, aſcribed to them. It is probable the Greek hiſtorians, who came ſo many ages afterwards, deceived by the likeneſs of names, through their ignorance in chronology, and the reſemblance of one event with another, may have aſcribed ſuch things to more ancient princes, as belonged to thoſe of a later date; or may have attributed a number of exploits and enterpriſes to one, which ought to be divided amongſt a ſeries of them ſucceeding one another.

Semiramis, ſome time after her return, diſcovered that her ſon was plotting againſt her, and one of her principal officers had offered him his aſſiſtance. She then called to mind the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; and believing that her end approached, without inflicting any puniſhment on the officer, who was taken into cuſtody, ſhe voluntarily abdicated the throne, put the government into the hands of her ſon, and withdrew from the ſight of men, hoping ſpeedily to have divine honours paid to her according to the promiſe of the oracle. And indeed we are told, ſhe was worſhipped by the Aſſyrians, under the form of a dove. She lived ſixty-two years, of which ſhe reigned forty-two.

There are in the [p] Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres two learned diſſertations upon the Aſſyrian empire, and particularly on the reign and actions of Semiramis.

What Juſtin [q] ſays of Semiramis, namely, that after her huſband's deceaſe, not daring either to commit the government to her ſon, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herſelf, ſhe governed under the name and habit of Ninyas; and that after having reigned in that manner above forty years, falling paſſionately in love with her own ſon, ſhe endeavoured to bring him to a criminal compliance, and was ſlain by him: all this, I ſay, is ſo void of all appearance

[p] Vol. iii. p. 343. [q] Lib. i. c. 2.

of truth, that to go about to confute it would be but loſing time. It muſt however be owned, that almoſt all the authors, who have ſpoken of Semiramis, give us but a diſadvantageous idea of her chaſtity.

I do not know but the glorious reign of this queen might partly induce [r] Plato to maintain in his Commonwealth, that women as well as men ought to be admitted into the management of public affairs, the conducting of armies, and the government of ſtates; and by neceſſary conſequence ought to be trained up in the ſame exerciſes as men, as well for the forming of the body as the mind. [s] Nor does he ſo much as except thoſe exerciſes, wherein it was cuſtomary to fight ſtark naked, alleging, that the virtue of the ſex would be a ſufficient covering for them.

It is juſt matter of ſurpriſe to find ſo judicious a philoſopher in other reſpects, openly combating the moſt common and moſt natural maxims of modeſty and decency, which virtues are the principal ornament of the ſex, and inſiſting ſo ſtrongly upon a principle, ſufficiently confuted by the conſtant practice of all ages, and of almoſt all nations in the world.

[t] Ariſtotle, wiſer in this than his maſter Plato, without doing the leaſt injuſtice to the real merit and eſſential qualities of the ſex, has with great judgment marked out the different ends to which man and woman are ordained, from the different qualities of body and mind, wherewith they are endowed by the Author of Nature, who has given the one ſtrength of body and intrepidity of mind, to enable him to undergo the greateſt hardſhips, and face the moſt imminent dangers; whilſt the other on the contrary, is of a weak and delicate conſtitution, accompanied with a natural ſoftneſs and modeſt timidity, which render her more fit for a ſedentary life, and diſpoſe her to keep within the precincts of the houſe, to employ herſelf in a prudent and induſtrious œconomy.

[u] Xenophon is of the ſame opinion with Ariſtotle: and in order to ſet off the occupation of the wife, who confines herſelf within her houſe, agreeably compares her to the

[r] Lib. v. de Rep. p. 451—457.
[s] Επειπερ αρειην ανλι ιματιων αμφιεσονται.
[t] De cura rei fam. l. i. c. 5.
[u] De adminiſtr. dom. p. 839.

mother-bee, commonly called the queen of the bees, who alone governs and has the ſuperintendance of the whole hive, who diſtributes all their employments, encourages their induſtry, preſides over the building of their little cells, takes care of the nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence of her numerous family; regulates the quantity of honey appointed for that purpoſe, and at fixed and proper ſeaſons ſends abroad the new ſwarms in colonies, to eaſe and diſcharge the hive of its ſuperfluous inhabitants. He remarks, with Ariſtotle, the difference of conſtitution and inclinations, deſignedly given by the Author of Nature to man and woman, to point out to each of them their proper and reſpective offices and functions.

This allotment, far from degrading or leſſening the woman, is really for her advantage and honour, in confiding to her a kind of domeſtic empire and government, adminiſtered only by gentleneſs, reaſon, equity, and good-nature; and in giving her frequent occaſions to exert the moſt valuable and excellent qualities under the ineſtimable veil of modeſty and ſubmiſſion. For it muſt ingenuouſly be owned, that at all times, and in all conditions, there have been women, who by a real and ſolid merit have diſtinguiſhed themſelves above their ſex; as there have been innumerable inſtances of men, who by their defects have diſhonoured theirs. But theſe are only particular caſes, which form no rule, and which ought not to prevail againſt an eſtabliſhment founded in nature, and preſcribed by the Creator himſelf.

[x] NINYAS. This prince was in no reſpect like thoſe, from whom he received life, and to whoſe throne he ſucceeded. Wholly intent upon his pleaſures, he kept himſelf ſhut up in his palace, and ſeldom ſhowed himſelf to his people. To keep them in their duty, he had always at Nineveh a certain number of regular troops, furniſhed every year from the ſeveral provinces of his empire, at the expiration of which term they were ſucceeded by the like number of other troops on the ſame conditions; the king putting a commander at the head of them, on whoſe fidelity he could depend. He made uſe of this method, that the officers might

[x] Diod. l. ii. p. 108.

not have time to gain the affections of the ſoldiers, and ſo form any conſpiracies againſt him.

His ſucceſſors for thirty generations followed his example, and even outdid him in indolence. Their hiſtory is abſolutely unknown, their remaining no footſteps of it.

In Abraham's time the ſcripture ſpeaks of Amraphael, king of Sennaar, the country where Babylon was ſituated, who with two other princes, followed Chedarlaomer, king of the Elamites, whoſe tributary he probably was, in the war carried on by the latter againſt five kings of the land of Canaan. A. M. 2092. Ant. J. C. 1912.

It was under the government of theſe inactive princes, that Seſoſtris king of Egypt, extended his conqueſts ſo far in the Eaſt. But as his power was of a ſhort duration, and not ſupported by his ſucceſſors, the Aſſyrian empire ſoon returned to its former ſtate. A. M. 2513. Ant. J. C. 1492.

[b] Plato, a curious obſerver of antiquities, makes the kingdom of Troy, in the time of Priamus, dependent on the Aſſyrian empire. And Cteſias ſays, that Teutamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, ſent a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Trojans, under the conduct of Memnon, the ſon of Tithonus, at a time when the Aſſyrian empire had ſubſiſted above a thouſand years; which agrees exactly with the time, wherein I have placed the foundation of that empire. But the ſilence of Homer concerning ſo mighty a people, and which muſt needs have been well known, renders this fact exceeding doubtful. And it muſt be owned, that whatever relates to the times of the ancient hiſtory of the Aſſyrians is attended with great difficulties, into which my plan does not permit me to enter. A. M. 2820. Ant. J. C. 1184.

[c] PUL. The ſcripture informs us, that Pul, king of Aſſyria, being come into the land of Iſrael, had a thouſand talents of ſilver given him by Menahem, king of the ten tribes, to engage him to lend him aſſiſtance, and ſecure him on his throne. A. M. 3233. Ant. J. C. 771.

This Pul is ſuppoſed to be the king of Nineveh, who repented with all his people at the preaching of Jonah.

He is alſo thought to be the father of Sardanapalus, the laſt king of the Aſſyrians, called, according to the cuſtom

[b] De Leg. l. iii. p. 685. [c] 2 Kings, xv. 19.

of the eaſtern nations, Sardan-pul, that is to ſay, Sardan, the ſon of Pul.

[d] SARDANAPALUS. This prince ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in effeminacy, luxury, and cowardice. He never went out of his palace, but ſpent all his time amongſt a company of women, dreſſed and painted like them, and employed like them at the diſtaff. He placed all his happineſs and glory in the poſſeſſion of immenſe treaſures, in feaſting and rioting, and indulging himſelf in all the moſt infamous and criminal pleaſures. He ordered two verſes to be put upon his tomb, when he died, which imported, that he carried away with him all that he had eaten, and all the pleaſures he had enjoyed, but left all the reſt behind him.

* *Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido*
Hauſit: at illa jacent multa et præclara relicta.

An epitaph ſays Ariſtotle, fit for a hog.

Arbaces, governor of Media having found means to get into the palace, and with his own eyes ſeen Sardanapalus in the midſt of an infamous ſeraglio, enraged at ſuch a ſpectacle, and not able to endure that ſo many brave men ſhould be ſubject to a prince more ſoft and effeminate than the women themſelves, immediately formed a conſpiracy againſt him. Beleſis, governor of Babylon, and ſeveral others, entered into it. On the firſt rumour of this revolt, the king hid himſelf in the inmoſt part of his palace. Being obliged afterwards to take the field with ſome forces which he had aſſembled, he was overcome, and purſued to the gates of Nineveh; wherein he ſhut himſelf, in hopes the rebels would never be able to take ſo well fortified a city, and ſtored with proviſions for a conſiderable time: the ſiege proved indeed of very great length. It had been declared by an ancient oracle, that Nineveh could never be taken, unleſs the river became an enemy to the city. Theſe words

[d] Diod. l. ii. p. 109—115. Ath. l. xii. p. 529, 530. Juſt. l. i. c. 3.

* Κειν εχω εσσ εφαγον, και εφυβριστα, ϗ μετ ερωϑ Τερπν επαθον τα δε πολλα ϗολϐια παντα λολειπται. *Quid aliud, inquit Ariſtoteles, in bovis, non in regis ſepulchro, inſcriberes? Hæc habere ſe mortuum dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quam fruebatur.* Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. v. n. 101.

buoyed up Sardanapalus, becauſe he looked upon the thing as impoſſible. But when he ſaw that the Tigris, by a violent inundation, had thrown down twenty * ſtadia of the city-wall, and by that means opened a paſſage to the enemy, he underſtood the meaning of the oracle, and thought himſelf loſt. He reſolved, however, to die in ſuch a manner, as, according to his opinion, ſhould cover the infamy of his ſcandalous and effeminate life. He ordered a pile of wood to be made in his palace, and ſetting fire to it, burnt himſelf, his eunuchs, his women, and his treaſures. Athenæus makes theſe treaſures amount to a † thouſand myriads of talents of gold, and to ten times as many talents of ſilver, which, without reckoning any thing elſe, is a ſum that exceeds all credibility. A myriad contains ten thouſand; and one ſingle myriad of talents of ſilver is worth thirty millions French money, or about one million four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. A man is loſt, if he attempts to ſum up the whole value; which induces me to believe, that Athenæus muſt have very much exaggerated in his computation; however, we may be aſſured from his account, that the treaſures were immenſely great. A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

[f] Plutarch, in his ſecond treatiſe, dedicated to the praiſe of Alexander the Great, wherein he examines in what the true greatneſs of princes conſiſts, after having ſhown, that it can ariſe from nothing but their own perſonal merit, confirms it by two very different examples, taken from the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians, which we are upon. Semiramis and Sardanapalus (ſays he) both governed the ſame kingdom; both had the ſame people, the ſame extent of country, the ſame revenues, the ſame forces and number of troops; but they had not the ſame diſpoſitions, nor the ſame view. Semiramis, raiſing herſelf above her ſex, built magnificent cities, equipped fleets, armed legions, ſubdued neighbouring nations, penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, and carried her victorious arms to the extremities of Aſia, ſpreading conſternation and terror every where. Whereas Sardanapalus, as if he had entirely renounced his ſex, ſpent all his time in the heart of his palace, perpetually ſurrounded

[f] Page 335 & 336.

* Two miles and a half. † About 1400 millions ſterling.

with a company of women, whoſe habit and even manners he had taken, applying himſelf with them to the ſpindle and the diſtaff, neither underſtanding nor doing any other thing than ſpinning, eating, and drinking, and wallowing in all manner of infamous pleaſure. Accordingly, a ſtatue was erected to him, after his death, which repreſented him in the poſture of a dancer, with an inſcription upon it, in which he addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectator in theſe words, "[g] Eat, drink, and be merry; every thing elſe is nothing." An inſcription very ſuitable to the epitaph he himſelf had ordered to be put upon his monument.

Plutarch in this place judges of Semiramis, as almoſt all the profane hiſtorians do of the glory of conquerors. But, if we would make a true judgment of things, was the unbounded ambition of that queen much leſs blamable, than the diſſolute effeminacy of Sardanapalus; which of the two vices did moſt miſchief to mankind?

We are not to wonder that the Aſſyrian empire ſhould fall under ſuch a prince; but undoubtedly it was not till after having paſſed through various augmentations, diminutions, and revolutions, common to all ſtates, even to the greateſt, during the courſe of ſeveral ages. This empire had ſubſiſted above 1450 years.

Of the ruins of this vaſt empire were formed three conſiderable kingdoms; that of the Medes, which Arbaces, the principal head of the conſpiracy, reſtored to its liberty; that of the Aſſyrians of Babylon, which was given to Beleſis, governor of that city; and that of the Aſſyrians of Nineveh, the firſt king whereof took the name of Ninus the younger.

In order to underſtand the hiſtory of the ſecond Aſſyrian empire, which is very obſcure, and of which little is ſaid by hiſtorians, it is proper and even abſolutely neceſſary, to compare what is ſaid of it by profane authors with what we find of it in holy ſcripture; that, by the help of that double light, we may have the clearer idea of the two empires of Nineveh and Babylon, which for ſome time were ſeparate and diſtinct, and afterwards united and confounded together. I ſhall firſt treat of the ſecond Aſſyrian empire, and then return to the kingdom of the Medes.

[g] Εσθιε πινε, αφροδισιαζε ταλλα δε ουδεν.

CHAP. II.

The ſecond Aſſyrian empire, both of Nineveh and Babylon.

THIS ſecond Aſſyrian empire continued two hundred and ten years, reckoning to the year in which Cyrus, who was become abſolute maſter of the eaſt by the death of his father Cambyſes, and his father-in-law Cyaxares, publiſhed the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return into their own country, after a ſeventy years captivity at Babylon.

Kings of Babylon.

[h] BELESIS. He is the ſame as Nabonaſſar, from whoſe reign began the famous aſtronomical epocha at Babylon, called from his name the æra of Nabonaſſar. In the holy ſcriptures he is called Baladan. He reigned but twelve years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon. A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

[i] MERODACH-BALADAN. This is the prince who ſent ambaſſadors to king Hezekiah, to contragulate him on the recovery of his health, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. After him there reigned ſeveral other kings at Babylon, [k] with whoſe ſtory we are entirely unacquainted. I ſhall therefore proceed to the kings of Nineveh.

Kings of Nineveh.

[l] TIGLATH-PILESER. This is the name given by the holy ſcripture to the king, who is ſuppoſed to be the firſt that reigned at Nineveh, after the deſtruction of the ancient Aſſyrian empire. He is called Thilgamus by Ælian. He is ſaid to have taken the name of Ninus the younger, in order to honour and diſtinguiſh his reign by the name of ſo ancient and illuſtrious a prince. A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

Ahaz, king of Judah, whoſe incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chaſtiſe-

[h] 2 Kings xx. 12. [i] Ibid. [k] Can. Ptol.
[l] Lib. xii, hiſt. anim. c. 21. Caſtor. apud Euſeb. Chron. p. 49. 2 Kings xvi. 7, &c.

ments, finding himſelf attacked at once by the kings of Syria and Iſrael, robbed the temple of part of its gold and ſilver, and ſent it to Tiglath-Pileſer, to purchaſe his friendſhip and aſſiſtance; promiſing him beſides to become his vaſſal, and to pay him tribute. The king of Aſſyria finding ſo favourable an opportunity of adding Syria and Paleſtine to his empire, readily accepted the propoſal. Advancing that way with a numerous army, he beat Rezin, took Damaſcus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, as God had foretold by his prophets Iſaiah[l] and Amos. From thence he marched againſt Phacea, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Iſrael beyond Jordon, or in Galilee. But he made Ahaz pay very dear for his protection, ſtill exacting of him ſuch exorbitant ſums of money that, for the payment of them, he was obliged not only to exhauſt his own treaſures, but to take all the gold and ſilver of the temple. Thus this alliance ſerved only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who became ſo many inſtruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chaſtiſement of his people.

A. M. 3276. Ant. J. C. 728. [m] SALMANASER. Sabacus, the Ethiopian, whom the ſcripture calls So, having made himſelf maſter of Egypt, Hoſea king of Samaria, entered into an alliance with him, hoping by that means to ſhake off the Aſſyrian yoke. To this end he withdrew from his dependance upon Salmanaſer, refuſing to pay him any further tribute, or make him the uſual preſents.

Salmanaſer, to puniſh him for his preſumption, marched againſt him with a powerful army; and after having ſubdued all the plain country, ſhut him up in Samaria, where he kept him cloſely beſieged for three years; at the end of which he took the city, loaded Hoſea with chains, and threw him into priſon for the reſt of his days; carried away the people captive, and planted them in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes. And thus was the kingdom of Iſrael, or of the ten tribes, deſtroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets. This kingdom, from the time of its ſeparation from that of Judah, laſted about two hundred and fifty years.

[l] Iſ. viii. 4. Am. i. 5. [m] 2 Kings xvii.

[n] It was at this time that Tobit, with Anne his wife, and his ſon Tobias, was carried captive into Aſſyria, where he became one of the principal officers to king Salmanaſer.

Salmanaſer died, after having reigned fourteen years, and was ſucceed by his ſon.

[o] SENNACHERIB. He is alſo called Sargon in ſcripture. A. M. 3287. Ant. J. C. 717.

As ſoon as this prince was ſettled on the throne, he renewed the demand of the tribute, exacted by his father from Hezekiah. Upon his refuſal, he declared war againſt him, and entered into Judea with a mighty army. Hezekiah, grieved to ſee his kingdom pillaged, ſent ambaſſadors to him, to deſire peace upon any terms he would preſcribe. Sennacherib, ſeemingly mollified, entered into treaty with him, and demanded a very great ſum of gold and ſilver. The holy king exhauſted both the treaſures of the temple, and his own coffers, to pay it. The Aſſyrian, regarding neither the ſanction of oaths nor treaties, ſtill continued the war, and puſhed on his conqueſts more vigorouſly than ever. Nothing was able to withſtand his power, and of all the ſtrong places of Judah, none remained untaken but Jeruſalem, which was likewiſe reduced to the utmoſt extremity. [p] At this very juncture Sennacherib was informed, that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to ſuccour the beſieged city. Now it was contrary to the expreſs command of God, as well as the remonſtrances of Iſaiah and Hezekiah, that the chief rulers at Jeruſalem had required any foreign aſſiſtance. The Aſſyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemy, after having written a letter to Hezekiah, full of blaſphemy, againſt the God of Iſrael, whom he inſolently boaſted he would ſpeedily vanquiſh as he had done all the gods of the other nations round about him. In ſhort, he diſcomfited the Egyptians, and purſued them even into their own country, which he ravaged, and returned laden with ſpoil.

[q] It was probably during Sennacherib's abſence, which was pretty long, or at leaſt ſome little time before that Hezekiah fell ſick, and was cured after a miraculous manner;

[n] Tob. c. 1. [o] Iſ. xx. 1. 2 Kings, c. xviii. and xix.
[p] 2 Kings, xix. 9. [q] 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31.

and that (as a ſign of God's fulfilling the promiſe he had made him of curing him ſo perfectly, that within three days he ſhould be able to go to the temple) the ſhadow of the ſun went ten degrees backwards upon the dial of the palace. Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, being informed of the miraculous cure of king Hezekiah, ſent ambaſſadors to him with letters and preſents, to congratulate him upon that occaſion, and to acquaint themſelves with the miracle that had happened upon earth at this juncture, with reſpect to the ſun's retrogradation ten degrees. Hezekiah was extremely ſenſible of the honour done him by that prince, and very forward to ſhow his ambaſſadors the riches and treaſures he poſſeſſed, and to let them ſee the whole magnificence of his palace. Humanly ſpeaking, there was nothing in this proceeding but what was allowable and commendable; but in the eyes of the ſupreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing and delicate than ours, this action diſcovered a lurking pride, and ſecret vanity, with which his righteouſneſs was offended. Accordingly he inſtantly advertiſed the king by his prophet Iſaiah, that the riches and treaſures he had been ſhowing to thoſe ambaſſadors with ſo much oſtentation, ſhould one day be tranſported to Babylon; and that his children ſhould be carried thither, to become ſervants in the palace of that monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for Babylon, at the time we are ſpeaking of, was in friendſhip and alliance with Jeruſalem, as appears by her having ſent ambaſſadors thither: nor did Jeruſalem then ſeem to have any thing to fear, but from Nineveh; whoſe power was at that time formidable, and had entirely declared againſt her. But the fortune of thoſe two cities was to change, and the word of God was literally accompliſhed.

[r] But to return to Sennacherib; after he had ravaged Egypt, and taken a vaſt number of priſoners, he came back with his victorious army, encamped before Jeruſalem, and beſieged it a-new. The city ſeemed to be inevitably loſt: it was without reſource, and without hope from the hands of men; but had a powerful protector in heaven, whoſe jealous ears had heard the impious blaſphemies uttered by the king of Nineveh againſt his ſacred name. In one ſingle

[r] 2 Kings xix. 35—37.

night a hundred and eighty-five thouſand men of his army periſhed by the ſword of the deſtroying angel. After ſo terrible a blow this pretended king of kings (for ſo he called himſelf) this triumpher over nations, and conqueror of gods, was obliged to return to his own country with the miſerable remnant of his army, covered with ſhame and confuſion: nor did he ſurvive his defeat a few months, but only to make a kind of an honourable amande to God, whoſe ſupreme majeſty he had preſumed to inſult, and who now, to uſe the ſcripture terms, having *put a ring into his noſe, and a bit into his mouth*, as a wild beaſt, made him return in that humbled afflicted condition, through thoſe very countries, which a little before had beheld him ſo haughty and imperious.

Upon his return to Nineveh, being enraged at his diſgrace, he treated his ſubjects after a moſt cruel and tyrannical manner. [s] The effects of his fury fell more heavily upon the Jews and Iſraelites, of whom he had great numbers maſſacred every day, ordering their bodies to be left expoſed in the ſtreets, and ſuffering no man to give them burial. Tobit, to avoid his cruelty, was obliged to conceal himſelf for ſome time, and ſuffer all his effects to be confiſcated. In ſhort, the king's ſavage temper rendered him ſo inſupportable to his own family, that his two eldeſt ſons conſpired againſt him, [t] and killed him in the temple, in the preſence of his god Niſroch, as he lay proſtrate before him. But theſe two princes, being obliged after this parricide to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Eſarhaddon, their youngeſt brother.

[u] ESARHADDON. We have already obſerved, that after Merodach-Baladan, there was a ſucceſſion of kings at Babylon, of whom hiſtory has tranſmitted nothing but the names. The royal family becoming extinct, there was an eight years interregnum, full of troubles and commotions. Eſarhaddon, taking advantage of this juncture, made himſelf maſter of Babylon; and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires thirteen years. A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

After having reunited Syria and Paleſtine to the Aſſyrian empire, which had been rent from it in the preceding reign,

[s] Tobit i. 18—24. [t] 2 Kings xix. 37. [u] Can. Ptol.

he entered the land of Iſrael, where he took captive as many as were left there, and carried them into Aſſyria, except an inconſiderable number that eſcaped his purſuit. And that the country might not become a deſert, he ſent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. [x] The prediction of Iſaiah was then fulfilled; "within threeſcore and five years ſhall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people." This was exactly the ſpace of time elapſed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Iſrael did then truly ceaſe to be a viſible nation, what was left of them being altogether mixed and confounded with other nations.

[y] This prince, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the land of Iſrael, ſent ſome of his generals with a part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country likewiſe, under his ſubjection. Theſe generals defeated Manaſſeh, and having taken him priſoner, brought him to Eſarhaddon, who put him in chains, and carried him with him to Babylon. But Manaſſeh, having afterwards appeaſed the wrath of God by a ſincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jeruſalem.

[z] Meantime the colonies, that had been ſent into Samaria, in the room of its ancient inhabitants, were grievouſly infeſted with lions. The king of Babylon, being told the cauſe of that calamity was their not worſhipping the God of the country, ordered an Iſraelitiſh prieſt to be ſent to them, from among the captives taken in that country, to teach them the worſhip of the God of Iſrael. But theſe idolaters, contented with admitting the true God amongſt their ancient divinities, worſhipped him jointly with their falſe deities. This corrupt worſhip continued afterwards, and was the ſource of the averſion entertained by the Jews againſt the Samaritans.

Eſarhaddon, after a proſperous reign of thirty-nine years, over the Aſſyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians, was ſucceeded by his ſon

[x] Iſ. vii. 3. [y] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 13.
[z] 2 Kings xvii. 25—41.

SAOSDUCHINUS. This prince is called in ſcripture Nabuchodonoſor, which name was common to the kings of Babylon. To diſtinguiſh this from the others, he is called Nabuchodonoſor the Firſt. A. M. 3335. Ant. J. C. 669.

[b] Tobit was ſtill alive at this time, and dwelt among other captives at Nineveh. Perceiving his end approaching, he foretold his children the ſudden deſtruction of that city; of which at that time there was not the leaſt appearance. He adviſed them to quit the city, before its ruin came on, and to depart as ſoon as they had buried him and his wife.

"The ruin of Nineveh is at hand," ſays the good old man, "abide no longer here, for I perceive the wickedneſs of the city will occaſion its deſtruction." Theſe laſt words are very remarkable, "the wickedneſs of the city will occaſion its deſtruction." Men will be apt to impute the ruin of Nineveh to any other reaſon, but we are taught by the Holy Ghoſt, that her unrighteouſneſs was the true cauſe of it, as it will be with other ſtates, that imitate her crimes.

[c] Nabuchodonoſor defeated the king of the Medes in a pitched battle, fought the twelfth year of his reign, upon the plain of Regau, took Ecbatana, the capital of his kingdom, and returned triumphant to Nineveh. When we come to treat of the hiſtory of the Medes we ſhall give a more particular account of this victory.

It was immediately after this expedition, that Bethulia was beſieged by Holofernes, one of Nabuchodonoſor's generals; and that the famous enterpriſe of Judith was accompliſhed.

[d] SARACUS, otherwiſe called CHYNA-LADANUS. This prince ſucceeded Saoſduchinus; and having rendered himſelf contemptible to his ſubjects by his effeminacy, and the little care he took of his dominions, Nabopolaſſar, a Babylonian by birth, and general of his army, uſurped that part of the Aſſyrian empire, and reigned over it one and twenty years. A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 648.

NABOPOLASSAR. This prince, the better to maintain his uſurped ſovereignty, made an alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes. With their joint forces they beſieged and took Nineveh, killed Saracus, and utterly deſtroyed A. M. 3378. Ant. J. C. 626.

[b] Tobit xiv. 5—13. [c] Judith i. 5, 6. [d] Alex. Polyhiſt.

that great city. We ſhall ſpeak more largely of this great event when we come to the hiſtory of the Medes. From this time forwards the city of Babylon became the only capital of the Aſſyrian empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes, having deſtroyed Nineveh, became ſo formidable, that they drew upon themſelves the jealouſy of all their neighbours. Necho, king of Egypt, was ſo alarmed at their power, that to ſtop their progreſs he marched towards the Euphrates at the head of a powerful army, and made ſeveral conſiderable conqueſts. See the hiſtory of the Egyptians [f] for what concerns this expedition, and the conſequences that attended it.

[g] Nabopolaſſar finding that, after the taking of Carchemiſh by Necho, all Syria and Paleſtine had revolted from him, and neither his age nor infirmities permitting him to go in perſon to recover them, he made his ſon Nabuchodonoſor partner with him in the empire, and ſent him with an army to reduce thoſe countries to their former ſubjection.

From this time the Jews begin to reckon the years of Nabuchodonoſor, *viz.* from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, or rather from the beginning of the fourth. But the Babylonians compute the reign of this prince only from the death of his father, which happened two years later.

[h] NABUCHODONOSOR II. This prince defeated Necho's army near the Euphrates, and retook Carchemiſh. From thence he marched towards Syria and Paleſtine, and reunited thoſe provinces to his dominions.

[i] He likewiſe entered Judea, beſieged Jeruſalem, and took it: he cauſed Jehoiakim to be put in chains, with a deſign to have him carried to Babylon; but being moved with his repentance and affliction, he reſtored him to his throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the reſt, ſome children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon; whither all the treaſures of the king's palace, and a part of the ſacred veſſels of the temple, were likewiſe tranſported. Thus was the judgment God had denounced by the prophet Iſaiah to king Hezekiah accompliſhed.

[f] Vol. I. [g] Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11, & con. Ap. l. i.
[h] Jer. xlvi. 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7. [i] Dan. i. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.

From this famous epocha, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, we are to date the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, ſo often foretold by Jeremiah. Daniel, then but eighteen years old, was carried captive among the reſt; and Ezekiel ſome time afterwards.

[l]Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim died Nabopolaſſar, king of Babylon, after having reigned one and twenty years. As ſoon as his ſon Nabuchodonoſor had news of his death, he ſet out with all expedition for Babylon, taking the neareſt way through the deſert, attended only with a ſmall retinue, leaving the bulk of his army with his generals, to be conducted to Babylon with the captives and ſpoils. On his arrival, he received the government from the hands of thoſe that had carefully preſerved it for him, and ſo ſucceeded to all the dominions of his father, which comprehended Chaldea, Aſſyria, Arabia, Syria, and Paleſtine, over which, according to Ptolemy, he reigned forty-three years.

[m]In the fourth year of his reign he had a dream, at which he was greatly terrified, though he could not call it again to mind. He thereupon conſulted the wiſe men and divines of his kingdom, requiring of them to make known to him the ſubſtance of his dream. They all anſwered, that it was beyond the reach of their art to divine the thing itſelf; and that the utmoſt they could do, was to give the interpretation of his dream, when he had made it known to them. As abſolute princes are not accuſtomed to meet with oppoſition, but will be obeyed in all things, Nabuchodonoſor, imagining they dealt inſincerely with him, fell into a violent rage, and condemned them all to die. Now Daniel and his three companions were included in the ſentence, as being ranked among the wiſe men. But, Daniel, having firſt invoked his God, deſired to be introduced to the king, to whom he revealed the whole ſubſtance of his dream. "The thing thou ſaweſt (ſays he to Nebuchadnezzar) was an image of an enormous ſize, and a terrible countenance. The head thereof was of gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, and the feet part of iron and

A. M. 3401. Ant. J. C. 603.

[l] Can. Ptol. Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11. & con. Ap. l. x.

[m] Dan. c. ii.

part of clay. And as the king was attentively looking upon that viſion, behold a ſtone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and the ſtone ſmote the image upon his feet, and brake them to pieces; the whole image was ground as ſmall as duſt, and the ſtone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." When Daniel had related the dream, he gave the king likewiſe the interpretation thereof, ſhowing him how it ſignified the three great empires, which were to ſucceed that of the Aſſyrians, namely, the Perſian, the Grecian, and the Roman, or (according to ſome) that of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great. "After theſe kingdoms (continued Daniel) ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; and this kingdom ſhall not be left to other people, but ſhall break in pieces and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and ſhall ſtand for ever." By which Daniel plainly foretold the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. Nebuchadnezzar, quite raviſhed with admiration and aſtoniſhment, after having acknowledged and loudly declared, that the God of the Iſraelites was really the God of gods, advanced Daniel to the higheſt offices in the kingdom, made him chief of the governors over all the wiſe men, ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and one of the principal lords of the council, that always attended the court. His three friends were alſo promoted to honours and dignities.

[a] At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whoſe generals, that were ſtill in Judea, marched againſt him, and committed all kinds of hoſtilities upon his country. "He ſlept with his fathers," is all the ſcripture ſays of his death, Jeremiah had propheſied that he ſhould neither be regretted nor lamented; but ſhould "be buried with the burial of an aſs, drawn and caſt forth beyond the gates of Jeruſalem:" this was no doubt fulfilled, though it is not known in what manner.

* Jechonias ſucceeded both to the throne and iniquity of his father. Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenants continuing the blockade of Jeruſalem, in three months time he himſelf came at the head of his army, and made himſelf maſter of the city. He plundered both the temple and the king's palace

[a] 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2. * *Al.* Jehoiakim, 2 Kings xxiv. 6—18.

of all their treaſures, and ſent them away to Babylon, together with all the golden veſſels remaining, which Solomon had made for the uſe of the temple: he carried away likewiſe a vaſt number of captives, amongſt whom was king Jechonias, his mother, his wives, with all the chief officers and great men of his kingdom. In the room of Jechonias, he ſet upon the throne his uncle Mattaniah, who was otherwiſe called Zedekiah.

[o] This prince had as little religion and proſperity as his fore-fathers. Having made an alliance with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter ſoon chaſtiſed him for it, and immediately laid ſiege to Jeruſalem. The king of Egypt's arrival at the head of an army gave the beſieged ſome hopes; but their joy was very ſhort-lived; the Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned againſt Jeruſalem, and renewed the ſiege, which laſted near a twelvemonth. At laſt the city was taken by ſtorm, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. Zedekiah's two ſons were by Nebuchadnezzar's orders killed before their father's face, with all the nobles and principal men of Judah: Zedekiah himſelf had both his eyes put out, was loaded with fetters, and carried to Babylon, where he was confined in priſon as long as he lived. The city and temple were pillaged and burnt, and all their fortifications demoliſhed. A. M. 3415. Ant. J. C. 589.

[p] Upon Nebuchadnezzar's return to Babylon, after his ſucceſsful war againſt Judea, he ordered a golden ſtatue to be made ſixty* cubits high, aſſembled all the great men of the kingdom to celebrate the dedication of it, and commanded all his ſubjects to worſhip it, threatening to caſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe into the midſt of a burning fiery furnace. Upon this occaſion it was, that the three young Hebrews, Ananias, Miſael, and Azarias, who with an invincible courage refuſed to comply with the king's impious ordinance, were preſerved, after a miraculous manner, in the midſt of the flames. The king, himſelf a witneſs of this aſtoniſhing miracle, publiſhed an edict, whereby all perſons whatſoever were forbid, upon pain of death, to ſpeak any thing amiſs

[o] 2 Kings xxiv. 17—20. & xxi. 1—10.

[p] Dan. iii.

* 90 feet.

againſt the God of Ananias, Miſael, and Azarias. He likewiſe promoted theſe three young men to the higheſt honours and employments.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, and the fourth after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, marched again into Syria, and beſieged Tyre, at the time when Ithobal was king thereof. Tyre was a ſtrong and opulent city, which never had been ſubject to any foreign power, and was then in great repute for its commerce; [r] by which many of its citizens were become like ſo many princes in wealth and magnificence. It was built by the Sidonians two hundred and forty years before the temple of Jeruſalem. For Sidon being taken by the Philiſtines of Aſcalon, many of its inhabitants made their eſcape in ſhips, and founded the city of Tyre. And for this reaſon we find it called in Iſaiah [s] "the daughter of Sidon." But the daughter ſoon ſurpaſſed the mother in grandeur, riches, and power. Accordingly, at the time we are ſpeaking of, ſhe was in a condition to reſiſt thirteen years together a monarch, to whoſe yoke all the reſt of the eaſt had ſubmitted.

[t] It was not till after ſo many years, that Nebuchadnezzar made himſelf maſter of Tyre. His troops ſuffered incredible hardſhips before it; ſo that according to the prophet's expreſſion, "[u] every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was peeled." Before the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greateſt part of their effects, into a neighbouring iſle, half a mile from the ſhore, where they built a new city; the name and glory whereof extinguiſhed the remembrance of the old one, which from henceforward became a mere village, retaining the name of ancient Tyre.

[x] Nebuchadnezzar and his army having undergone the utmoſt fatigues during ſo long and difficult a ſiege, and having found nothing in the place to requite them for the ſervice they had rendered Almighty God (it is the expreſſion of the prophet) in executing his vengeance upon that city, to make them amends, God was pleaſed to promiſe by the mouth of

[r] Ezek. xxvi. 27. Iſ. xxiii. 8. Juſt. l. xviii. c. 3.
[s] Iſ. xxiii. 12.
[t] Joſ. Ant. l. x. c. 11, & con. Ap. l. i.
[u] Ez. xxix. 18, 19.
[x] Ex. xix. 18—20.

Ezekiel, that he would give them the ſpoils of Egypt. And indeed Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt ſoon after, as I have more fully related in the Hiſtory of the Egyptians [y]. When this prince had happily finiſhed all his wars, and was in a ſtate of perfect peace and tranquillity, he put the laſt hand to the building, or rather to the embelliſhing of Babylon. The reader may ſee in Joſephus [z] an account of the magnificent ſtructures aſcribed to this monarch by ſeveral writers. I have mentioned a great part of them in the deſcription already given of that ſtately city.

[a] Whilſt nothing ſeemed wanting to complete Nebuchadnezzar's happineſs, a frightful dream diſturbed his repoſe, and filled him with great anxiety. He dreamed, "He ſaw a tree in the midſt of the earth, whoſe height was great: the tree grew, and was ſtrong, and the height of it reached unto heaven, and the ſight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit much; and in it was meat for all: the beaſts of the field had ſhadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof; and all fleſh was fed of it. Then a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven and cried; Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, ſhake off his leaves, and ſcatter his fruit; let the beaſts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheleſs leave the ſtump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and braſs, in the tender graſs of the field: and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beaſts in the graſs of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beaſt's heart be given unto him; and let ſeven times paſs over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones, to the intent that the living may know, that the Moſt High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will, and ſetteth up over it the baſeſt of men."

The king juſtly terrified at this terrible dream, conſulted all his wiſe men and magicians, but to no purpoſe. He was obliged to have recourſe to Daniel, who expounded the dream, and applied it to the king's own perſon, plainly declaring to him, "That he ſhould be driven from the

[y] Vol. I. [z] Antiq. l. x. c. 11. [a] Dan. iv. 4—18.

company of men for ſeven years, ſhould be reduced to the condition and fellowſhip of the beaſts of the field, and feed upon graſs like a bullock: that his kingdom nevertheleſs ſhould be preſerved for him, and he ſhould repoſſeſs his throne, when he ſhould have learnt to know and acknowledge that all power is from above, and cometh from heaven. After this he exhorted him to break off his ſins by righteouſneſs, and his iniquities by ſhowing mercy to the poor."

All theſe things came to paſs upon Nebuchadnezzar, as the prophet had foretold. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of his buildings, he ſaid, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the houſe of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?" Would a ſecret impulſe of complacency and vanity in a prince, at the ſight of ſuch noble ſtructures, erected by himſelf, appear to us ſo very criminal? and yet, hardly were the words out of his mouth, when a voice came down from heaven, and pronounced this ſentence; "In the ſame hour his underſtanding went from him; he was driven from men, and did eat graſs like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws."

After the expiration of the appointed time he recovered his ſenſes, and the uſe of his underſtanding: "He lifted up his eyes unto heaven," ſays the ſcripture, "and bleſſed the Moſt High; he praiſed and honoured him that liveth for ever, whoſe dominion is an everlaſting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation:" confeſſing, "That all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can ſtay his hand or ſay unto him, What doſt thou?" Now he recovered his former countenance and form. His courtiers went out to ſeek him; he was reſtored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than ever. Being affected with the heartieſt gratitude, he cauſed by a ſolemn edict to be publiſhed, through the whole extent of his dominions, what aſtoniſhing and miraculous things God had wrought in his perſon.

One year after this Nebuchadnezzar died, having reigned forty-three years, reckoning from the death of his father. He was one of the greateſt monarchs that ever reigned in the eaſt. He was ſucceeded by his ſon.

[r] EVIL-MERODACH. As ſoon as he was ſettled in the throne, he releaſed Jachonias, king of Judah, out of priſon, where he had been confined near ſeven and thirty years. A. M. 3441. Ant. J. C. 563.

In the reign of this Evil-Merodach, which laſted but two years, the learned place Daniel's detection of the frauds practiſed by the prieſts of Bel; the innocent artifice, by which he contrived to kill the dragon, which was worſhipped as a god; and the miraculous deliverance of the ſame prophet out of the den of lions, where he had victuals brought him by the prophet Habakkuk.

[s] Evil-Merodach rendered himſelf ſo odious by his debauchery, and other extravagances, that his own relations conſpired againſt him, and put him to death.

[t] NERIGLISSAR, his ſiſter's huſband, and one of the chief conſpirators, reigned in his ſtead. A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560.

Immediately on his acceſſion to the crown he made great preparations for war againſt the Medes, which made Cyaxares ſend for Cyrus out of Perſia to his aſſiſtance. This ſtory will be more particularly related by and by, where we ſhall find that this prince was ſlain in battle, in the fourth year of his reign.

LABOROSOARCHOD, his ſon, ſucceeded to the throne. This was a very wicked prince. Being born with the moſt vicious inclinations, he indulged them without reſtraint when he came to the crown; as if he had been inveſted with ſovereign power, only to have the privilege of committing with impunity the moſt infamous and barbarous actions. He reigned but nine months; his own ſubjects, conſpiring againſt him, put him to death. His ſucceſſor was A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556.

LABYNIT or NABONID. This prince had likewiſe other names, and in ſcripture that of Belſhazzar. It is reaſonably ſuppoſed that he was the ſon of Evil-Merodach, by his wife Nitocris, and conſequently grandſon to Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, the nations of the eaſt were to be ſubject, as alſo to his A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

[r] 2 Kings xxv. 27—30. [s] Beroſ. Magaſthen. [t] Cyrop. l. i.

ſon, and his grandſon after him; "[y] All nations ſhall ſerve him, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, until the very time of his land ſhall come."

[z] Nitocris is that queen who raiſed ſo many noble edifices in Babylon, ſhe cauſed her own monument to be placed over one of the moſt remarkable gates of the city, with an inſcription, diſſuading her ſucceſſors from touching the treaſures laid up in it, without the moſt urgent and indiſpenſible neceſſity. The tomb remained unopened till the reign of Darius, who, upon his breaking it open, inſtead of thoſe immenſe treaſures he had flattered himſelf with, found nothing but the following inſcription.

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULDST NEVER HAVE BROKE OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

[a] In the firſt year of Belſhazzar's reign Daniel had the viſion of the four beaſts, which repreſented the four great monarchies, and the kingdom of the Meſſiah, which was to ſucceed them. [b] In the third year of the ſame reign he had the viſion of the ram and the he-goat, which prefigured the deſtruction of the Perſian empire by Alexander the Great, and the perſecution which Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, ſhould bring upon the Jews. I ſhall hereafter make ſome reflections upon theſe prophecies, and give a larger account of them.

[c] Belſhazzar, whilſt his enemies were beſieging Babylon, gave a great entertainment to his whole court, upon a certain feſtival, which was annually celebrated with great rejoicing. The joy of this feaſt was greatly diſturbed by a viſion, and ſtill more ſo by the explication which Daniel gave of it to the king. The ſentence written upon the wall imported, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Perſians. That very night the city was taken, and Belſhazzar killed.

A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536. Thus ended the Babylonian empire, after having ſubſiſted two hundred and ten years from the deſtruction of the great Aſſyrian empire.

[y] Jer. xxvii. 7. [z] Her. l. i. cap. 185, &c.
[a] Dan. c. vii. [b] c. viii. [c] c. v.

The particular circumſtances of the ſiege, and the taking of Babylon, ſhall be related in the hiſtory of Cyrus.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the Medes.

I TOOK notice in ſpeaking of the deſtruction of the ancient Aſſyrian empire, that Arbaces, general of the Medes, was one of the chief authors of the conſpiracy againſt Sardanapalus: and ſeveral writers believe, that he then immediately became ſovereign maſter of Media, and many other provinces, and aſſumed the title of king. Herodotus is not of this opinion. I ſhall relate what that celebrated hiſtorian ſays upon the ſubject. A. M. 3257. Ant. J. C. 747.

[f] The Aſſyrians, who had for many ages held the empire of Aſia, began to decline in their power by the revolt of ſeveral nations. The Medes firſt threw off their yoke, and maintained for ſome time the liberty they had acquired by their valour: but that liberty degenerating into licentiouſneſs, and their government not being well eſtabliſhed, they fell into a kind of anarchy, worſe than their former ſubjection. Injuſtice, violence, and rapine, prevailed every where, becauſe there was nobody that had either power enough to reſtrain them, or ſufficient authority to puniſh the offenders. But all theſe diſorders induced the people to ſettle a form of government, which rendered the ſtate more flouriſhing than ever it was before.

The nation of the Medes was then divided into tribes. Almoſt all the people dwelt in villages, when Dejoces, the ſon of Phraortes, a Mede by birth, erected the ſtate into a monarchy. This perſon, ſeeing the great diſorders that prevailed throughout all Media, reſolved to take advantage of thoſe troubles, and make them ſerve to exalt him to the royal dignity. He had a great reputation in his own country, and paſſed for a man, not only regular in his own

[f] Herod. l. i. c. 95.

conduct, but poſſeſſed of all the prudence and equity neceſſary for a governor.

As ſoon as he had formed the deſign of obtaining the throne, he laboured to make the good qualities that had been obſerved in him more conſpicuous than ever: he ſucceeded ſo well, that the inhabitants of the village where he lived made him their judge. In this office he acquitted himſelf with great prudence; and his cares had all the ſucceſs expected from them; for he brought the people of that village to a ſober and regular life. The inhabitants of other villages, whom perpetual diſorders ſuffered not to live in quiet, obſerving the good order Dejoces had introduced in the place where he preſided as judge, began to addreſs themſelves to him, and make him arbitrator of their differences. The fame of his equity daily increaſing, all ſuch as had any affair of conſequence, brought it before him, expecting to find that equity in Dejoces, which they could meet with no where elſe.

When he found himſelf thus far advanced in his deſigns, he judged it a proper time to ſet his laſt engines to work for the compaſſing his point. He therefore retired from buſineſs, pretending to be over fatigued with the multitude of people, that reſorted to him from all quarters; and would not exerciſe the office of judge any longer, notwithſtanding all the importunity of ſuch as wiſhed well to the public tranquillity. Whenever any perſons addreſſed themſelves to him, he told them, that his own domeſtic affairs would not allow him to attend thoſe of other people.

The licentiouſneſs which had been, for ſome time, reſtrained by the management of Dejoces, began to prevail more than ever, as ſoon as he had withdrawn himſelf from the adminiſtration of affairs; and the evil increaſed to ſuch a degree that the Medes were obliged to aſſemble, and deliberate upon the means of curing ſo dangerous a diſorder.

There are different ſorts of ambition: ſome violent and impetuous, carry every thing as it were by ſtorm, ſticking at no kind of cruelty or murder: another ſort, more gentle, like that we are ſpeaking of, puts on an appearance of moderation and juſtice, working under ground (if I may

uſe that expreſſion) and yet arrives at her point as ſurely as the other.

Dejoces, who ſaw things ſucceeding according to his wiſh, ſent his emiſſaries to the aſſembly, after having inſtructed them in the part they were to act. When expedients for ſtopping the courſe of the public evils came to be propoſed, theſe emiſſaries, ſpeaking in their turn, repreſented, that unleſs the face of the republic was entirely changed, their country would become uninhabitable; that the only means to remedy the preſent diſorders was to elect a king, who ſhould have authority, to reſtrain violence, and make laws for the government of the nation. Then every man could proſecute his own affairs in peace and ſafety; whereas the injuſtice, that now reigned in all parts, would quickly force the people to abandon the country. This opinion was generally approved; and the whole company was convinced, that no expedient could be deviſed more effectual for curing the preſent evil than that of converting the ſtate into a monarchy. The only thing then to be done, was to chooſe a king; and about this their deliberations were not long. They all agreed, there was not a man in Media ſo capable of governing as Dejoces; ſo that he was immediately with common conſent elected king.

If we reflect in the leaſt on the firſt eſtabliſhment of kingdoms, in any age or country whatſoever, we ſhall find that the maintenance of order, and the care of the public good, was the original deſign of monarchy. Indeed there would be no poſſibility of eſtabliſhing order and peace, if all men were reſolved to be independent, and would not ſubmit to an authority, which takes from them a part of their liberty, in order to preſerve the reſt. Mankind muſt be perpetually at war, if they will always be ſtriving for dominion over others, or refuſe to ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt. For the ſake of their own peace and ſafety they muſt have a maſter, and muſt conſent to obey him. This is the human origin of government. [h] And the ſcripture teacheth us, that the Divine Providence has not only allowed of the project, and the execution of it, but conſecrated it likewiſe by an immediate communication of his own power.

[h] Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

There is nothing certainly nobler or greater than to ſee a private perſon, eminent for his merit and virtue, and fitted by his excellent talents for the higheſt employments, and yet through inclination and modeſty preferring a life of obſcurity and retirement; than to ſee ſuch a man ſincerely refuſe the offer made to him of reigning over a whole nation, and at laſt conſent to undergo the toil of government, upon no other motive than that of being ſerviceable to his fellow citizens. His firſt diſpoſition, by which he declares that he is acquainted with the duties, and conſequently with the dangers annexed to a ſovereign power, ſhows him to have a ſoul more elevated and great than greatneſs itſelf, or to ſpeak more juſtly, a ſoul ſuperior to all ambition: nothing can ſhow him ſo perfectly worthy of that important charge, as the opinion he has of his not being ſo, and his fears of being unequal to it. But when he generouſly ſacrifices his own quiet and ſatisfaction to the welfare and tranquillity of the public, it is plain he underſtands what that ſovereign power has in it really good, or truly valuable; which is, that it puts a man in a condition of becoming the defender of his country, of procuring it many advantages, and of redreſſing various evils; of cauſing law and juſtice to flouriſh, of bringing virtue and probity into reputation, and of eſtabliſhing peace and plenty: and he comforts himſelf for the cares and troubles to which he is expoſed, by the proſpect of the many benefits reſulting from them to the public. Such a governor was Numa at Rome, and ſuch have been ſome other emperors whom the people have conſtrained to accept the ſupreme power.

It muſt be owned (I cannot help repeating it) that there is nothing nobler or greater than ſuch a diſpoſition. But to put on the maſk of modeſty and virtue, in order to ſatisfy one's ambition, as Dejoces did; to affect to appear what outwardly a man is not inwardly; to refuſe for a time, and then accept with a ſeeming repugnancy what a man earneſtly deſires, and what he has been labouring by ſecret, under-hand practices to obtain; this double dealing has ſo much meanneſs in it, that it neceſſarily leſſens our opinion

of the perſon, and extremely eclipſes his merit, be his talents at the ſame time ever ſo extraordinary.

[i] DEJOCES reigned fifty-three years. When Dejoces had aſcended the throne, he endeavoured to convince the people, that they were not miſtaken in the choice they had made of him, for reſtoring of order. At firſt he reſolved to have his dignity of king attended with all the marks that could inſpire an awe and reſpect for his perſon. He obliged his ſubjects to build him a magnificent palace in the place he appointed. This palace he ſtrongly fortified, and choſe out from among his people ſuch perſons as he judged fitteſt to be his guards. A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

After having thus provided for his own ſecurity, he applied himſelf to poliſh and civilize his ſubjects, who having been accuſtomed to live in the country and in villages, almoſt without laws and without polity, had contracted a ſavage diſpoſition. To this end he commanded them to build a city, marking out himſelf the place and circumference of the walls. This city was compaſſed about with ſeven diſtinct walls, all diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that the outermoſt did not hinder the parapet of the ſecond from being ſeen, nor the ſecond that of the third, and ſo of all the reſt. The ſituation of the place was extremely favourable for ſuch a deſign, for it was a regular hill, whoſe aſcent was equal on every ſide. Within the laſt and ſmalleſt encloſure ſtood the king's palace, with all his treaſures: in the ſixth, which was next to that, there were ſeveral apartments for lodging the officers of his houſehold; and the intermediate ſpaces, between the other walls, were appointed for the habitation of the people: the firſt and largeſt incloſure was about the bigneſs of Athens. The name of the city was Ecbatana.

The proſpect of it was magnificent and beautiful; for beſides the diſpoſition of the walls, which formed a kind of amphitheatre, the different colours wherewith the ſeveral parapets were painted formed a delightful variety.

After the city was finiſhed, and Dejoces had obliged part of the Medes to ſettle in it, he turned all his thoughts to compoſing of laws for the good of the ſtate. But being

[i] Her. l. i. c. 96—101.

perſuaded, that the majeſty of kings is moſt reſpected afar off [*major ex longinquo reverentia*, Tacit.] he began to keep himſelf at a diſtance from his people; was almoſt inacceſſible and inviſible to his ſubjects, not ſuffering them to ſpeak, or communicate their affairs to him, but only by petitions, and the interpoſition of his officers. And even thoſe that had the privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh nor ſpit in his preſence.

This great ſtateſman acted in this manner, in order the better to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the crown. For having to deal with men yet uncivilized, and no very good judges of true merit, he was afraid that too great a familiarity with him might induce contempt, and occaſion plots and conſpiracies againſt growing power, which is generally looked upon with invidious and diſcontented eyes. But by keeping himſelf thus concealed from the eyes of the people, and making himſelf known only by the wiſe laws he made, and the ſtrict juſtice he took care to adminiſter to every one, he acquired the reſpect and eſteem of all his ſubjects.

It is ſaid, that from the innermoſt part of his palace he ſaw every thing that was done in his dominions, by means of his emiſſaries, who brought him accounts, and informed him of all tranſactions. By this means no crime eſcaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the puniſhment treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and ſtopped the courſe of violence and injuſtice.

Things might poſſibly paſs in this manner to a certain degree during his adminiſtration. But there is nothing more obvious than the great inconveniencies neceſſarily reſulting from the cuſtom introduced by Dejoces, and wherein he has been imitated by the reſt of the Eaſtern potentates; the cuſtom, I mean, of living concealed in his palace, of governing by ſpies, diſperſed throughout his kingdom, of relying ſolely upon their ſincerity for the truth of facts; of not ſuffering truth, the complaints of the oppreſſed, and the juſt reaſons of innocent perſons to be conveyed to him any other way than through foreign channels, that is by men liable to be prejudiced or corrupted;

men that ſtopped up all avenues to remonſtrances, or the reparation of injuries, and that were capable of doing the greateſt injuſtice themſelves, with ſo much the more eaſe and aſſurance, as their iniquity remained undiſcovered, and conſequently unpuniſhed. But beſides all this, methinks that very affectation in princes of being inviſible, ſhows them to be conſcious of their ſlender merit, which ſhuns the light, and dares not ſtand the teſt of a near examination.

Dejoces was ſo wholly taken up in humanizing and ſoftening the manners, and in making laws for the good government of his people, that he never engaged in any enterpriſe againſt his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he did not die till after having reigned fifty-three years.

[k] PHRAORTES reigned twenty-two years. After the death of Dejoces, his ſon Phraortes, called otherwiſe * Aphraartes, ſucceeded. The ſole affinity between theſe two names, would make one believe, that this is the king called in ſcripture Arphaxad: but that opinion has many other ſubſtantial reaſons to ſupport it, as may be ſeen in father Mountfaucon's learned diſſertation, of which I have made great uſe in this treatiſe. The paſſage in Judith, "that Arphaxad built a very ſtrong city, and called it Ecbatana," has deceived moſt authors, and made them believe, that Arphaxad muſt be Dejoces, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgar tranſlation renders *ædificavit*, ſays only, "[l] that Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatana." And what can be more natural, than that the father, not having entirely perfected ſo conſiderable a work, the ſon ſhould put the laſt hand to it, and make ſuch additions as were wanting. A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 657.

[m] Phraortes, being of a very warlike temper, and not contented with the kingdom of Media, left him by his father, attacked the Perſians; and, defeating them in a deciſive battle, brought them under ſubjection to his empire. Then ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of their troops, he attacked

[k] Her. c. 102.

[l] Επωκοδομησε επι Εκβατανοις. [m] Judith, Text, Gr. Her. l. i. c. 102.

* He is called ſo by Euſebius, Chron. Græc. and by Geor. Syncel. *Judith*, i. 1.

other neighbouring nations, one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the Upper Aſia, which comprehends all that lies north of mount Taurus, from Media, as far as the river Halys.

Elate with this good ſucceſs, he ventured to turn his arms againſt the Aſſyrians, at that time indeed weakened through the revolt of ſeveral nations, but yet very powerful in themſelves. Nabuchodonoſor, their king, otherwiſe called Saſoduchinus, raiſed a great army in his own country, and * ſent ambaſſadors to ſeveral other nations of the eaſt, to require their aſſiſtance. They all refuſed him with contempt, and ignominiouſly treated his ambaſſadors, letting him ſee, that they no longer dreaded that empire, which had formerly kept the greateſt part of them in a ſlaviſh ſubjection.

The king, highly enraged at ſuch inſolent treatment, ſwore by his throne and his reign, that he would be revenged of all thoſe nations, and put them every one to the ſword. He then prepared for battle, with what forces he had, in the plain of Ragau. A great battle enſued there, which proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned and put into diſorder, and Nabuchodonoſor gained a complete victory. Then taking advantage of the defeat and confuſion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, puſhed on his conqueſts even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by ſtorm, and gave the city to be pillaged by his ſoldiers, who plundered it, and ſtripped it of all its ornaments.

The unfortunate Phraortes, who had eſcaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at laſt into the hands of Nabuchodonoſor, who cruelly cauſed him to be ſhot to death with darts. After that he returned to Nineveh with all his army, which was ſtill very numerous, and for four months together did nothing but feaſt and divert himſelf with thoſe that had accompanied him in this expedition.

In Judith we read that the king of Aſſyria ſent Holophernes, with a powerful army, to revenge himſelf of thoſe that had refuſed him ſuccours; the progreſs and cruelty of that commander, the general conſternation of all the people,

* The Greek text places theſe embaſſies before the battle.

the courageous reſolution of the Iſraelites to withſtand him, in hopes that their God would defend them, the extremity to which Bethulia and the whole nation was reduced, the miraculous deliverance of that city by the courage and conduct of the brave Judith, and the complete overthrow of the Aſſyrian army, are all related in the ſame book.

[m] CYAXARES I. reigned forty years. This prince ſucceeded to the throne immediately after his father's death. He was a very brave enterpriſing prince, and knew how to make his advantage of the late overthrow by the Aſſyrian army. He firſt ſettled himſelf well in his kingdom of Media, and then conquered all Upper Aſia. But what he had moſt at heart was, to go and attack Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father by the deſtruction of that great city. A. M. 3369. Ant. J. C. 635.

The Aſſyrians came out to meet him, having only the remains of that great army, which was deſtroyed before Bethulia. A battle enſued, wherein the Aſſyrians were defeated and driven back to Nineveh. Cyaxares, purſuing his victory, laid ſiege to the city, which was upon the point of falling inevitably into his hands, but that the time was not yet come when God deſigned to puniſh that city for her crimes, and for the calamities ſhe had brought upon his people as well as other nations. It was delivered from its preſent danger in the following manner.

A formidable army of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and was ſtill marching under the conduct of king Madyes in purſuit of them. The Cimmerians had found means to eſcape from the Scythians, who were advancing into Media. Cyaxares, hearing of this eruption, raiſed the ſiege from before Nineveh, and marched with all his forces againſt that mighty army, which, like an impetuous torrent, was going to overrun all Aſia. The two armies engaged, and the Medes were vanquiſhed. The Barbarians, finding no other obſtacle in their way, overſpread not only Media, but almoſt all Aſia. After that they marched towards Egypt, from whence Pſammaticus diverted their courſe by preſents. They then returned into Paleſtine, where ſome of them

[m] Herod. l. i. c. 103—106.

plundered the temple of Venus at Aſcalon, the moſt ancient temple dedicated to that goddeſs. Some of theſe Scythians ſettled at Betſhean, a city in the tribe of Manaſſeh, on this ſide Jordan, which from them was afterwards called Scythopolis.

The Scythians for the ſpace of twenty-eight years were maſters of the Upper Aſia, namely, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia; during which time they ſpread deſolation wherever they came. The Medes had no way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous ſtratagem. Under pretence of cultivating and ſtrengthening the alliance they had made together, they invited the greateſt part of them to a general feaſt, which was made in every family. Each maſter of the feaſt made his gueſts drunk, and in that condition were the Scythians maſſacred. The Medes then repoſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary weſtward.

[n] The remaining Scythians who were not at the banquets, having heard of the maſſacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Halyattes, who received them with great humanity. This occaſioned a war between thoſe two princes. Cyaxares immediately led his troops to the frontiers of Lydia. Many battles were fought during the ſpace of five years with almoſt equal advantage on both ſides. The battle fought in the ſixth year was very remarkable, on account of an eclipſe of the ſun, which happened during the engagement, when on a ſudden the day was turned into a dark night. Thales, the Mileſian, had foretold this eclipſe. The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeſeen event, which they looked upon as a ſign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated on both ſides, and made peace. Sienneſis, king of Cilicia*, and Nabuchodonoſor, king of Babylon, were the mediators. To render the friendſhip more firm and inviolable, the two princes agreed to ſtrengthen it by the tie of marriage, and agreed, that Halyattes ſhould give his daughter Aryenis, to Aſtyages, eldeſt ſon of Cyaxares.

[n] Her. i. c. 74.

* In Herodotus he is called Labynetus.

The manner theſe people had of contracting alliance with one another is very remarkable. Beſides other ceremonies, which they had in common with the Greeks, they had this in particular; the two contracting parties made themſelves inciſions in the arms, and licked one another's blood.

[o] Cyaxares's firſt care, as ſoon as he found himſelf again in peace, was to reſume the ſiege of Nineveh; which the eruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raiſe. Nabopolaſſar, king of Babylon, with whom he had lately contracted a particular alliance, joined with him in the league againſt the Aſſyrians. Having therefore united their forces, they beſieged Nineveh, took it, killed Saracus the king, and utterly deſtroyed that mighty city. A. M. 3378.

God had foretold by his prophets above a hundred years before, that he would bring vengeance upon that impious city for the blood of his ſervants, wherewith the kings thereof had gorged themſelves, like ravenous lions; that he himſelf would march at the head of the troops that ſhould come to beſiege it; that he would cauſe conſternation and terror to go before them; that he would deliver the old men, the mothers, and their children, into the mercileſs hands of the ſoldiers; that all the treaſures of the city ſhould fall into the hands of rapacious and inſatiable plunderers; and that the city itſelf ſhould be ſo totally and utterly deſtroyed, that not ſo much as a footſtep of it ſhould be left; and that the people ſhould aſk hereafter, Where did the proud city of Nineveh ſtand?

But let us hear the language of the prophets themſelves: [p] Woe to the bloody city (cries Nahum) it is all full of lies and robbery; [q] he that daſhes in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to Jacob and to Iſrael. [r] I hear already the noiſe of the whip, and the noiſe of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horſes, and of the bounding chariots. The horſeman lifteth up the bright ſword and the glittering ſpear. [s] The ſhield of his mighty men is made red; the valiant men are in ſcarlet. They ſhall ſeem like torches, they ſhall run like the lightning. [t] God is jealous, the

[o] Her. l. i. c. 206. [p] Nahum iii. 1. [q] ii. 1, 2.
[r] iii. 2, 3. [s] ii. 3, 4. [t] i. 2, 5, 6.

Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his preſence: Who can ſtand before his indignation? And who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger? [u] Behold I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts: I will ſtrip thee of all thy ornaments. [x] Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waſte. Nineveh is deſtroyed; ſhe is overthrown; ſhe is deſolate. [y] The gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the * palace ſhall be diſſolved. And Huzzab ſhall be led away captive; ſhe ſhall be brought up, and her maids ſhall lead her as with the voice of doves taboring upon their breaſts. [z] I ſee a multitude of ſlain, and a great number of carcaſſes; and there is no end of their corpſes; they ſtumble upon their corpſes. † [a] Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine: [b] the Lord ſhall deſtroy Aſſur. He ſhall depopulate that city, which was ſo beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a deſert. It ſhall be a dwelling-place for wild beaſts, and the birds of night ſhall lurk therein. Behold, it ſhall be ſaid, ſee that proud city which was ſo ſtately, and ſo exalted: which ſaid in her heart, I am the only city, and beſides me there is no other. All they that paſs by her ſhall ſcoff at her, and ſhall inſult her with hiſſings and contemptuous geſtures.

The two armies enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of Nineveh; and Cyaxares, proſecuting his victories, made himſelf maſter of all the cities of the kingdom of Aſſyria,

[u] Nahum iii. 5. [x] ii, 9, 10. [y] ii. 6.
[z] iii. 3. [a] ii. 11, 12. [b] Zephan. ii. 13—15.

* The author in this place renders it, *Her temple is deſtroyed to the foundation.* But I have choſen to follow our Engliſh Bible, though in the Latin it is *templum.*

† This is a noble image of the cruel avarice of the Aſſyrian kings, who pillaged and plundered all their neighbouring nations, eſpecially Judea, and carried away the ſpoils of them to Nineveh.

except Babylon and Chaldea, which belonged to Nabopolaſſar.

After this expedition Cyaxares died, and left his dominions to his ſon Aſtyages.

ASTYAGES reigned thirty-five years. This prince is called in ſcripture Ahaſuerus. Though his reign was very long, no leſs than thirty-five years, yet we have no particulars recorded of it in hiſtory. He had two children, whoſe names are famous, namely, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandana, by a former marriage. In his father's lifetime he married Mandana to Cambyſes, the ſon of Achemenes, king of Perſia: from this marriage ſprung Cyrus, who was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares. The latter ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the Medes. A. M. 3409. Ant. J. C. 595.

CYAXARES II. This is the prince whom the ſcripture calls Darius the Mede.

Cyrus having taken Babylon, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, left it under his government. After the death of his uncle, and his father Cambyſes, he united the kingdoms of the Medes and Perſians into one: in the ſequel therefore of this diſcourſe they will be conſidered only as one empire. I ſhall begin the hiſtory of that empire with the reign of Cyrus; which will include alſo what is known of the reigns of his two predeceſſors, Cyaxares and Aſtyages. But I ſhall previouſly give ſome account of the kingdom of Lydia, becauſe Crœſus, its king, has a conſiderable ſhare in the events of which I am to ſpeak.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Lydians.

THE kings, who firſt reigned over the Lydians, are by Herodotus called Atyades, that is, deſcendants from Atys. Theſe he tells us, derived their origin from Lydus, the ſon of Atys; and Lydus gave the name of Lydians to that people, who before his time were called Mœonians.[c]

[c] Herod. l. i. c. 7—13.

Theſe Atyades were ſucceeded by the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules, who poſſeſſed this kingdom for the ſpace of five hundred and five years.

A. M. 2781. Ant. J. C. 1223. ARGO, great grandſon of Alcæus, ſon of Hercules, was the firſt of the Heraclides who reigned in Lydia. The laſt was

CANDAULES. This prince was married to a lady of exquiſite beauty; and, being infatuated by his paſſion for her, was perpetually boaſting of her charms to others. Nothing would ſerve him, but Gyges, one of his chief officers, ſhould ſee, and judge of them by his own eyes*; as if the huſband's own knowledge of them was not ſufficient for his happineſs, or the beauty of his wife would have been impaired by his ſilence. The king to this end placed Gyges ſecretly in a convenient place; but notwithſtanding that precaution, the queen perceived him when he retired, yet took no manner of notice of it; judging, as the hiſtorian repreſents it, that the moſt valuable treaſure of a woman is her modeſty, ſhe ſtudied a ſignal revenge for the injury ſhe had received; and to puniſh the fault of her huſband, committed a ſtill greater crime. Poſſibly a ſecret paſſion for Gyges had as great ſhare in that action, as her reſentment for the diſhonour done her. Be that as it will, ſhe ſent for Gyges, and obliged him to expiate his crime either by his own death, or the king's, at his own option. After ſome remonſtrances to no purpoſe, he reſolved upon the latter, and by the murder of Candaules, became maſter of his queen and his throne. By this means the kingdom paſſed from the family of the Heraclidæ into that of the Mermnades.

A. M. 2386. Ant. J. C. 718. Archilochus, the poet, lived at this time, and, as Herodotus informs us, ſpoke of this adventure of Gyges in his poems.

I cannot forbear mentioning in this place what is related by Herodotus, that amongſt the Lydians, and almoſt all other barbarians, it was reckoned ſhameful and infamous, even for a man to appear naked. Theſe footſteps of modeſty, which are met with amongſt pagans, ought to

* *Non contentus voluptatum ſuarum tacita conſcientia—prorſus quaſi ſilentium damnum pulchritudinis eſſet.* JUSTIN. l. i. c. 7.

be reckoned valuable. * We are assured, that among the Romans, a son, who was come to the age of maturity, never went into the baths with his father, nor even a son-in-law with his father-in-law; and this modesty and decency were looked upon by them as a law of nature, the violation whereof was criminal. It is astonishing, that amongst us our magistrates take no care to prevent this disorder, which, in the midst of Paris, at the season of bathing, is openly committed with impunity; a disorder so visibly contrary to the rules of common decency, so dangerous to young persons of both sexes, and so severely condemned by paganism itself.



[f] Plato relates the story of Gyges in a different manner from Herodotus. He tell us, that Gyges wore a ring, the stone of which, when turned towards him, rendered him invisible; so that he had the advantage of seeing others, without been seen himself; and that by means of this ring, with the concurrence of the queen, he deprived Candaules of his life and throne. This probably signifies, that, in order to compass his criminal design, he used all the tricks and stratagems, the world calls subtle and refined policy, which penetrates into the most secret purposes of others, without making the least discovery of its own. This story thus explained carries in it a greater appearance of truth, than what we read in Herodotus.

Cicero, after having related this fable of Gyges's famous ring, adds, † that if a wise man had such a ring, he would not use it to any wicked purpose; because virtue considers what is honourable and just, and has no occasion for darkness.

[g] GYGES reigned thirty-eight years. The murder of Candaules raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared

[f] Plato de Rep. l. ii. p. 359. [g] Her. l. i. c. 13, 14.

* *Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi, non lavantur. Retinenda est igitur hujus generis verecundia, præsertim natura ipsa magistra et duce.* Cic. l. i. de offic. n. 129.

Nudare se nefas esse credebatur. VAL. MAX. l. ii. cap. 1.

† *Hunc ipsum annulum si habeat sapiens, nihilo plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet. Honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quæruntur.* Lib. iii. de offic. n. 38.

in favour of Gyges. The king made large preſents to the temple at Delphos, which undoubtedly preceded, and had no little influence upon the oracle's anſwer. Among other things of value, Herodotus mentions ſix golden cups, weighing thirty talents, amounting to near a million of French money, which is about forty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling.

As ſoon as he was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, he made war againſt Miletos, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring ſtates.

After he had reigned thirty-eight years, he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

A. M. 3324. Ant. J. C. 680. [h] ARDYS reigned forty-nine years. It was in the reign of this prince, that the Cimmerians, driven out of their country by the Scythæ Nomades, went into Aſia, and took the city of Sardis, but not the citadel.

A. M. 3373. Ant. J. C. 631. [i] SADYATTES reigned twelve years. This prince declared war againſt the Mileſians, and laid ſiege to their city. In thoſe days the ſieges, which were generally nothing more than blockades, were carried on very ſlowly, and laſted many years. This king died before he had finiſhed that of Miletos, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

A. M. 3385. Ant. J. C. 619. [k] HALYATTES reigned fifty-ſeven years. This is the prince who made war againſt Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewiſe drove the Cimmerians out of Aſia. He attacked and took the cities of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. He vigorouſly proſecuted the war againſt the Mileſians, begun by his father; and continued the ſiege of their city, which had laſted ſix years under his father, and continued as many under him. It ended at length in the following manner: Halyattes, upon an anſwer he received from the Delphic oracle, had ſent an ambaſſador into the city, to propoſe a truce for ſome months. Thraſybulus, tyrant of Miletos, having notice of his coming, ordered all the corn, and other proviſions, aſſembled by him and his ſubjects for their ſupport, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the ſight of a ſignal that ſhould be given, to be all in a general humour of feaſting and jollity. The thing was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambaſſador at his arrival was in the utmoſt ſurpriſe to

[h] Her. l. i. c. 15. [i] Ibid. c. 16, 22. [k] Ibid. c. 21, 22.

ſee ſuch a plenty in the market, and ſuch cheerfulneſs in the city. His maſter, to whom he gave an account of what he had ſeen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never ſucceed, preferred peace to ſo fruitleſs a war, and immediately raiſed the ſiege.

CRŒSUS. His very name, which is become a proverb, carries in it an idea of immenſe riches. The wealth of this prince, to judge of it only by the preſents he made to the temple of Delphos, muſt have been exceſſively great. Moſt of thoſe preſents were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of Herodotus, and were worth ſeveral millions. [m] We may partly account for the treaſures of this prince, from certain mines that he had, ſituate according to Strabo, between Pergamus and Atarnes; as alſo from the little river Pactolus, the ſand of which was gold. But in Strabo's time this river had not the ſame advantage. A. M. 3442. Ant J. C. 562.

[n] This uncommon affluence, which is a thing extraordinary, did not enervate or ſoften the courage of Crœſus. He thought it unworthy of a prince to ſpend his time in idleneſs and pleaſure. For his part he was perpetually in arms, made ſeveral conqueſts, and enlarged his dominions by the addition of all the contiguous provinces, as Phrygia, Myſia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Pamphylia, and all the country of the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. Herodotus obſerves, that he was the firſt conqueror of the Greeks, who till then had never been ſubject to a foreign power. Doubtleſs he muſt mean the Greeks, ſettled in Aſia Minor.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary in this prince, though he was ſo immenſely rich, and ſo great a warrior, yet his chief delight was in literature and the ſciences. His court was the ordinary reſidence of thoſe famous learned men, ſo revered by antiquity, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece.

[o] Solon, one of the moſt celebrated amongſt them, after having eſtabliſhed new laws at Athens, thought he might abſent himſelf for ſome years, and improve that time by travelling. He went to Sardis, where he was received in a

[m] Strab. l. xiii. p. 625. & l. xiv. p. 680. [n] Her. l. i. c. 26—28.
[o] Her. l. i. c. 29—33. Plut. in Sol. p. 93, 94.

manner ſuitable to the reputation of ſo great a man. The king, attended with a numerous court, appeared in all his regal pomp and ſplendor, dreſſed in the moſt magnificent apparel, which was all over enriched with gold, and glittered with diamonds. Notwithſtanding the novelty of this ſpectacle to Solon, it did not appear that he was the leaſt moved at it, or that he uttered a word which diſcovered the leaſt ſurpriſe or admiration; on the contrary, people of ſenſe might ſufficiently diſcern from his behaviour, that he looked upon all this outward pomp, as an indication of a little mind, which knows not in what true greatneſs and dignity conſiſts. This coldneſs and indifference in Solon's firſt approach, gave the king no favourable opinion of his new gueſt.

He afterwards ordered all his treaſures, his magnificent apartments, and coſtly furniture ſhould be ſhowed him; as if he expected by the multitude of his fine veſſels, diamonds, ſtatues, and paintings, to conquer the philoſopher's indifference. But theſe things were not the king; and it was the king that Solon was come to viſit, and not the walls or chambers of his palace. He had no notion of making a judgment of the king, or an eſtimate of his worth, by theſe outward appendages, but by himſelf and his own perſonal qualities. Were we to judge at preſent by the ſame rule, we ſhould find many of our great men wretchedly naked and deſolate.

When Solon had ſeen all, he was brought back to the king. Crœſus then aſked him, which of mankind in all his travels he had found the moſt truly happy. "One Tellus," replied Solon, "a citizen of Athens, a very honeſt and good man, who had lived all his days without indigence, had always ſeen his country in a flouriſhing condition, had children that were univerſally eſteemed, with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing thoſe children's children, and at laſt died glorioufly in fighting for his country."

Such an anſwer as this, in which gold and ſilver were accounted as nothing, ſeemed to Crœſus to argue a ſtrange ignorance and ſtupidity. However, as he flattered himſelf of being ranked in the ſecond degree of happineſs, he aſked him, "Who of all thoſe he had ſeen, was the next in felicity to Tellus." Solon anſwered, "Cleobis and Briton, of

Argos, two brothers *, who had left behind them a perfect pattern of fraternal affection, and of the reſpect due from children to their parents. Upon a ſolemn feſtival, when their mother, a prieſteſs of Juno, was to go to the temple, the oxen that were to draw her not being ready, the two ſons put themſelves to the yoke, and drew their mother's chariot thither, which was above five miles diſtant. All the mothers of the place, raviſhed with admiration, congratulated the prieſteſs on the piety of her ſons. She in tranſports of her joy and thankfulneſs earneſtly intreated the goddeſs to reward her children with the beſt thing that heaven can give to man. Her prayers were heard. When the ſacrifice was over, her two ſons fell aſleep in the very temple, and there † died in a ſoft and peaceful ſlumber. In honour of their piety, the people of Argos conſecrated ſtatues to them in the temple of Delphos."

"What then," ſays Crœſus, in a tone that ſhowed his diſcontent, "you do not reckon me in the number of the happy?" Solon, who was not willing either to flatter, or exaſperate him any further, replied calmly: "King of Lydia, beſides many other advantages, the gods have given us Grecians a ſpirit of moderation and reſerve, which has produced amongſt us a plain, popular kind of philoſophy, accompanied with a certain generous freedom, void of pride or oſtentation, and therefore not well ſuited to the courts of kings: this philoſophy, conſidering what an infinite number of viciſſitudes and accidents the life of man is liable to, does not allow us either to glory in any proſperity we enjoy ourſelves, or to admire happineſs in others, which perhaps may prove only tranſient or ſuperficial." From hence he took occaſion to repreſent to him further, "That the life of man ſeldom exceeds ſeventy years, which make up in all ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty days, of which two are not exactly alike; ſo that the time to come is nothing but a ſeries of various accidents which cannot be foreſeen. Therefore, in our opinion, (continued he) no man can be eſteemed happy, but he whoſe happineſs God continues to the end of his life: as for others who are perpetually ex-

* φιλαδελφως ϗ φιλομητορας διαφεροντως ανδρας.

† The fatigue of drawing the chariot might be the cauſe of it.

poſed to a thouſand dangers, we account their happineſs as uncertain, as the crown is to a perſon that is ſtill engaged in battle, and has not yet obtained the victory." Solon retired, when he had ſpoken theſe words,* which ſerved only to mortify Crœſus, but not to reform him.

Æſop, the author of the fables, was then at the court of this prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained. He was concerned at the unhandſome treatment Solon received, and ſaid to him by way of advice; "† Solon, we muſt either not come near princes at all, or ſpeak things that are agreeable to them. Say rather (replied Solon) that we ſhould either never come near them at all, or elſe ſpeak ſuch things as may be for their good."

In Plutarch's time, ſome of the learned were of opinion, that this interview between Solon and Crœſus did not agree with the dates of chronology. But as thoſe dates are very uncertain, that judicious author did not think this objection ought to prevail againſt the authority of ſeveral creditable writers, by whom this ſtory is atteſted.

What we have now related of Crœſus is a very natural picture of the behaviour of kings and great men, who for the moſt part are ſeduced by flattery; and ſhows us at the ſame time two ſources from whence that blindneſs generally proceeds. The one is, a ſecret inclination which all men have, but eſpecially the great, of receiving praiſe without any precaution, and of judging favourably of all that admire them, or ſhow an unlimited ſubmiſſion and complaiſance to their humours. The other is, the great reſemblance there is between flattery and a ſincere affection, or a reaſonable reſpect; which is ſometimes counterfeited ſo exactly, that the wiſeſt may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their guard.

Crœſus, if we judge of him by the character he bears in hiſtory, was a very good prince, and worthy of eſteem in many reſpects. He had a great deal of good-nature, affabi-

* Λυπησας μεν, ου νεμεθησας δε τον Κροισον.

† Ω Σολων (εφε) τοις βασιλευσι δει ως ηκιστα ἡ ως ηδιστα ομιλειν. Και ο Σολων. Μα Δι (ειπεν) αλλ ως ηκιστα ἡ ως αοιστα. The jingle of the words ως ηκιστα ἡ ως ηδιστα, which is a beauty in the original, becauſe it is founded in the ſenſe, cannot be rendered into any other language.

lity, and humanity. His palace was a receptacle for men of wit and learning; which ſhows, that he himſelf was a perſon of learning, and had a taſte for the ſciences. His weakneſs was, that he laid a great ſtreſs upon riches and magnificence, thought himſelf great and happy in proportion to his poſſeſſions, miſtook regal pomp and ſplendor for true and ſolid greatneſs, and fed his vanity with the exceſſive ſubmiſſions of thoſe, that ſtood in a kind of adoration before him.

Thoſe learned men, thoſe wits and other courtiers, that ſurrounded this prince, eat at his table, partook of his pleaſures, ſhared his confidence, and enriched themſelves by his bounty and liberality, took care not to differ from the prince's taſte, and never thought of undeceiving him, with reſpect to his errors, or falſe ideas. On the contrary, they made it their buſineſs to cheriſh and fortify them in him, extolling him perpetually as the moſt opulent prince of his age, and never ſpeaking of his wealth, or the magnificence of his palace, but in terms of admiration and rapture; becauſe they knew this was the ſure way to pleaſe him, and to ſecure his favour. For flattery is nothing elſe but a commerce of falſehood and lying, founded upon intereſt on one ſide, and vanity on the other. The flatterer deſires to advance himſelf, and make his fortune; the prince to be praiſed and admired, becauſe he is his own firſt flatterer, and carries within himſelf a more ſubtle and better prepared poiſon than any adulation gives him.

That ſaying of Æſop, who had formerly been a ſlave, and ſtill retained ſomewhat of the ſpirit and character of ſlavery, though he had varniſhed it over with the addreſs of an artful courtier, that ſaying of his, I ſay, to Solon, "That we ſhould either not come near kings, or ſay what is agreeable to them," ſhows us with what kind of men Crœſus had filled his court, and by what means he had baniſhed all ſincerity, integrity, and duty, from his preſence. Therefore we ſee he could not bear that noble and generous freedom in the philoſopher, upon which he ought to have ſet an infinite value; as he would have done, had he but underſtood the worth of a friend, who, attaching himſelf to the perſon, and not to the fortune of a prince, has the courage to tell him

diſagreeable truths; truths unpalatable, and bitter to ſelf-love at the preſent, but that may prove very ſalutary and ſerviceable for the future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, ſed quod audiſſe ſemper volent.* These are Seneca's words, where he is endeavouring to ſhow, of what great uſe a faithful and ſincere friend may be to a prince: and what he adds further ſeems to be writ on purpoſe for Crœſus: * "Give him (ſays he) wholeſome advice. Let a word of truth once reach thoſe ears, which are perpetually fed and entertained with flattery. You'll aſk me, what ſervice can be done to a perſon arrived at the higheſt pitch of felicity? It will teach him not to truſt in his proſperity; it will remove that vain confidence he has in his power and greatneſs, as if they were to endure for ever: make him underſtand, that every thing, which belongs to and depends upon fortune, is as unſtable as herſelf; and that there is often but the ſpace of a moment between the higheſt elevation and the moſt unhappy downfall."

[p] It was not long before Crœſus experienced the truth of what Solon had told him. He had two ſons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual ſubject of affliction to him; the other, named Atys, was diſtinguiſhed by every good quality, and his great conſolation and delight. The father dreamed one night, which made a great impreſſion upon his mind, that this beloved ſon of his was to periſh by iron. This became a new ſource of anxiety and trouble, and care is taken to remove out of the young prince's way every thing made of iron, as partizans, lances, javelins, &c. No mention is made of armies, wars, or ſieges, before him. But one day there was to be an extraordinary hunting-match, for the killing of a wild boar, which had committed great ravage in the neighbourhood. All the young lords of the court were to be at this hunting. Atys very earneſtly importuned his father, that he would give him leave to be preſent, at leaſt as a ſpectator. The king could not refuſe him

[p] Her. l. 1. c. 34—45.

* *Plenas aures adulationibus aliquando vera vox intret; da conſilium utile. Quæris, quid felici præſtare poſſis? Effice, ne felicitati ſuæ credat. Parum in illum contuleris, ſi illi ſemel ſtultam fiduciam permanſuræ ſemper potentiæ excuſſeris, docueriſque mobilia eſſe quæ dedit caſus; ac ſæpe inter fortunam maximam et ultimam nihil intereſſe.* SEN. de benef. l. 6. c. 33.

that requeſt, but let him go under the care of a diſcreet young prince, who had taken refuge in his court, and was named Adraſtus. And this very Adraſtus, as he was aiming to fling his javelin at the boar, unfortunately killed Atys. It is impoſſible to expreſs either the affliction of the father, when he heard of this fatal accident, or of the unhappy prince, the innocent author of the murder, who expiated his fault with his blood, ſtabbing himſelf in the breaſt with his own ſword, upon the funeral-pile of the unfortunate Atys.

[q] Two years were ſpent on this occaſion in deep mourning, the afflicted father's thoughts being wholly taken up with the loſs he had ſuſtained. But the growing reputation, and great qualities of Cyrus, who began to make himſelf known, rouſed him out of his lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a ſtop to the power of the Perſians, which was enlarging itſelf every day. As he was very religious in his way, he would never enter upon any enterpriſe, without conſulting the gods. But, that he might not act blindly, and to be able to form a certain judgment of the anſwers he ſhould receive, he was willing to aſſure himſelf before-hand of the truth of the oracles. For which purpoſe, he ſent meſſengers to all the moſt celebrated oracles both of Greece and Africa, with orders to enquire, every one at his reſpective oracle, what Crœſus was doing on ſuch a day, and ſuch an hour, before agreed on. His orders were punctually obſerved; and of all the oracles, none gave a true anſwer but that of Delphos. The anſwer was given in Greek hexameter verſes, and was in ſubſtance as follows: "I know the number of the grains of ſand on the ſea-ſhore, and the meaſure of the ocean's vaſt extent. I can hear the dumb, and him that has not yet learnt to ſpeak. A ſtrong ſmell of a tortoiſe boiled in braſs, together with ſheep's fleſh, has reached my noſtrils, braſs beneath, braſs above." And indeed the king, thinking to invent ſomething that could not poſſibly be gueſſed at, had employed himſelf, on the day and hour ſet down, in boiling a tortoiſe and a lamb in a braſs pot, which had a braſs cover. St. Auſtin obſerves in ſeveral places, that God, to puniſh the blindneſs

[q] Herod. c. 46—56.

of the Pagans, ſometimes permitted the devils to give anſwers conformable to the truth.

Crœſus, thus aſſured of the god's veracity, whom he deſigned to conſult, offered three thouſand victims to his honour, and ordered an infinite number of veſſels, tripods, and golden tables, to be melted down, and converted into ingots of gold, to the number of a hundred and ſeventeen, to augment the treaſures of the Delphic temple. Each of theſe ingots weighed at leaſt two talents; beſides which, he made ſeveral other preſents; amongſt others, Herodotus, mentions a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and two veſſels of an extraordinary bigneſs, one of gold, which weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minas; the other of ſilver, which contained ſix hundred of the meaſures called amphoras. All theſe preſents, and many more, which for brevity's ſake I omit, were to be ſeen in the time of Herodotus.

The meſſengers were ordered to conſult the god upon two points; firſt, whether Crœſus ſhould undertake a war againſt the Perſians; ſecondly, if he did, whether he ſhould require the ſuccour of any auxiliary troops. The oracle anſwered upon the firſt article, that if he carried his arms againſt the Perſians, he would ſubvert a great empire; upon the ſecond, that he would do well to make alliances with the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. He conſulted the oracle again, to know how long the duration of his empire would be. The anſwer was; it ſhould ſubſiſt till a mule came to poſſeſs the throne of Media; which he conſtrued to ſignify the perpetual duration of his kingdom.

Purſuant to the direction of the oracle, Crœſus entered into alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Piſiſtratus at their head, and with the Lacedemonians, who were indiſputably the two moſt powerful ſtates of Greece.

[r] A certain Lydian, much eſteemed for his prudence, gave Crœſus on this occaſion very judicious advice. "O prince, (ſays he to him) why do you think of turning your arms againſt ſuch a people as the Perſians, who, being born in a wild, rugged country, are inured from their infancy to every kind of hardſhip and fatigue, who being coarſely clad,

[r] Herod. l. 1. c. 71.

and coarſely fed, can content themſelves with bread and water; who are abſolute ſtrangers to all the delicacies and conveniencies of life; who, in a word, have nothing to loſe, if you conquer them, and every thing to gain if they conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our country, if they ſhould once come to taſte the ſweets and advantages of it? So far therefore from thinking of beginning a war againſt them, 'tis my opinion we ought to thank the gods, that they have never put it into the heads of the Perſians to come and attack the Lydians." But Crœſus had taken his reſolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the hiſtory of Crœſus will be found in that of Cyrus, which I am now going to begin.

BOOK THE FOURTH

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS AND MEDES, *BY CYRUS:*

Containing the reigns of Cyrus, of Cambyſes, and Smerdis the Magus.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of Cyrus.

THE hiſtory of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit in this reſpect than the former. As to thoſe facts wherein they differ, I ſhall briefly relate what Herodotus ſays of them. It is well known, that Xenophon ſerved a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Perſian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, conſidering how curious he was, did often converſe, that he might acquaint himſelf by their means with the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, with their conqueſts in general, but more particularly with thoſe of the prince, who had founded their monarchy, and whoſe hiſtory he propoſed to write. This he tells us himſelf, in the beginning of his Cyropædia: "Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleaſure to inform myſelf of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he became ſo great a prince: and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me."

As to what Cicero ſays, in his firſt letter to his brother Quintus, "That * Xenophon's deſign, in writing the hiſ-

* *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte, non ad hiſtoriæ fidem ſcriptus, ſed ad effigiem juſti imperii.*

tory of Cyrus, was not ſo much to follow truth, as to give a model of a juſt government:" this ought not to leſſen the authority of that judicious hiſtorian, or make us give the leſs credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the deſign of Xenophon, who was a great philoſopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's hiſtory, but to repreſent him as a model and example to princes, for their inſtruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their ſubjects, notwithſtanding the pomp and elevation of their ſtations. With this view he may poſſibly have lent his hero ſome thoughts, ſome ſentiments, or diſcourſes of his own. But the ſubſtance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true; and of this their conformity with the holy ſcripture is of itſelf a ſufficient proof. The reader may ſee the diſſertation of the abbot Banier upon this ſubject, in the [s] Memoirs of the Academy of polite Literature.

For the greater clearneſs, I divide the hiſtory of Cyrus into three parts. The firſt will reach from his birth to the ſiege of Babylon: the ſecond will comprehend the deſcription of the ſiege, and the taking of that city, with every thing elſe that relates to that great event: the third will contain that prince's hiſtory, from the taking of Babylon to his death.

ARTICLE I.

The Hiſtory of Cyrus from his infancy to the Siege of Babylon.

THIS interval, beſides his education, and the journey he made to his grandfather Aſtyages in Media, includes the firſt campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions ſubſequent to them.

SECT. I. *Cyrus's Education.*

[t] CYRUS was the ſon of Cambyſes, king of Perſia, and of Mandana, daughter to Aſtyages, king of the Medes,

[s] Vol. VI. p. 400. [t] Xen. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 3.

[x]He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana. A. M. 3405. Ant. J. C. 599.

The Perſians conſiſted at this time of twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vaſt country, which has ſince borne the name of Perſia, and were not in all above a hundred and twenty thouſand men. But this people having afterwards, through the wiſdom and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the eaſt, the name of Perſia extended itſelf with their conqueſts and fortune, and comprehended all that vaſt tract of land, which reaches from eaſt to weſt, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to ſouth, from the Caſpian ſea to the ocean. And ſtill to this day the country of Perſia has the ſame extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his perſon, and ſtill more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very ſweet diſpoſition, full of good-nature and humanity, had a great deſire to learn, and a noble ardor for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or diſcouraged by any hardſhip or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Perſians, which were excellent in thoſe days, with reſpect to education.

[x]The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was looked upon as the moſt important duty, and the moſt eſſential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whoſe blind affection and fondneſs often render them incapable of that office; but the ſtate took it upon themſelves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform manner; where every-thing was regulated, the place and length of their exerciſes, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of puniſhment. The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, creſſes, and water; for their deſign was to accuſtom them early to temperance and ſobriety: beſides, they conſidered, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of ſauces or ragoos, would ſtrengthen the body, and lay ſuch a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardſhips and fatigues of war to a good old age.

[x] Cyrop. l. 1. p. 3—8.

Here boys went to ſchool, to learn juſtice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and ſciences; and the crime moſt ſeverely puniſhed amongſt them, was ingratitude.

The deſign of the Perſians, in all theſe wiſe regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults, than to puniſh them: and whereas in other ſtates the legiſlators are ſatisfied with eſtabliſhing puniſhments for criminals, the Perſians endeavoured ſo to order it, as to have no criminals amongſt them.

Till ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age the boys remained in the claſs of children; and here it was they learnt to draw the bow, and to fling the dart or javelin; after which they were received into the claſs of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched, and kept under, than before, becauſe that age requires the narroweſt inſpection, and has the greateſt need of reſtraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they paſſed all their nights in keeping guard, as well for the ſafety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themſelves in their exerciſes.

The third claſs conſiſted of men grown up, and formed; and in this they remained five and twenty years. Out of theſe all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all ſuch as were to fill the different poſts and employments in the ſtate, were choſen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Beſides theſe, there was a fourth or laſt claſs, from whence men of the greateſt wiſdom and experience were choſen, for forming the public council, and preſiding in the courts of judicature.

By theſe means every citizen might aſpire at the chief poſts in the government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had paſſed through all theſe ſeveral claſſes, and made himſelf capable of them by all theſe exerciſes. The claſſes were open to all; but generally ſuch only, as were rich

enough to maintain their children without working, ſent them thither.

[y] Cyrus himſelf was educated in this manner, and ſurpaſſed all of his age, not only in aptneſs to learn, but in courage and addreſs in executing whatever he undertook.

SECT. II. *Cyrus's Journey to his Grandfather Aſtyages, and his Return into Perſia.*

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Aſtyages, who, from the many things he had heard ſaid in favour of that young prince, had a great deſire to ſee him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from thoſe of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence reigned here univerſally. Aſtyages himſelf was richly clothed, had his * eyes coloured, his face painted, and his hair embelliſhed with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dreſſed in ſcarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets; whereas the habits of the Perſians were very plain and coarſe. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticiſing or condemning what he ſaw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his ſprightlineſs and wit, and gained every-body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I ſhall only mention one inſtance, whereby we may judge of the reſt.

Aſtyages, to make his grandſon unwilling to return home, made a ſumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vaſt plenty, and profuſion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquiſite cheer and magnificent preparation

[y] Cyrop. l. i. p. 8—12.

* The ancients, in order to ſet off the beauty of the face, and to give more life to their complexions, uſed to form their eye-brows into perfect arches, and to colour them with black. To give the greater luſtre to their eyes, they made their eye-laſhes of the ſame blackneſs. This artifice was much in uſe among the Hebrews. It is ſaid of Jezebel; *Depinxit oculos ſuos ſtibio*, 2 Kings ix. 30. This drug had an aſtringent quality, which ſhrunk up the eye-lids, and made the eyes appear the larger, which at that time was reckoned a beauty. PLIN. l. 33, c. 6. From hence comes that epithet, which Homer ſo often gives to his goddeſſes: Βοωπις Ηρη, great-ey'd Juno.

Cyrus looked upon with great indifference; at which, obſerving Aſtyages to be ſurpriſed: "The Perſians," ſays he to the king, "inſtead of going ſuch a round-about way to appeaſe their hunger, have a much ſhorter to the ſame end; a little bread and creſſes with them anſwer the purpoſe." Aſtyages deſiring Cyrus to diſpoſe of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter immediately diſtributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, becauſe he taught him to ride; to another, becauſe he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, becauſe he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only perſon to whom he gave nothing. This officer, beſides the poſt of cup-bearer, had that likewiſe of introducing thoſe who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not poſſibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he deſired it, he had the misfortune to diſpleaſe the prince, who took this occaſion to ſhow his reſentment. Aſtyages teſtifying ſome concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular conſideration, and who deſerved it, as he ſaid, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he ſerved him: "Is that all, papa?" replied Cyrus, "if that be ſufficient to merit your favour, you ſhall ſee I'll quickly obtain it; for I'll take upon me to ſerve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a ſerious countenance, a napkin upon his ſhoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he preſented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace, that charmed both Aſtyages and Mandana. When he had done, he flung himſelf upon his grandfather's neck, and kiſſing him, cried out with great joy; "*O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone; I ſhall have thy place," Aſtyages embraced him with great fondneſs, and ſaid: "I am mighty well pleaſed, my dear child: nobody can ſerve with a better grace: but you have forgot one eſſential ceremony, which is that of taſting." And indeed the cup-bearer was uſed to pour ſome of the liquor into his left-hand, and to taſte it, before he preſented it to the king. "No," replied Cyrus, "it was not through forgetfulneſs that I omitted that ceremony. Why then (ſays Aſtyages) for what reaſon did you

* Ω Σακα, απολωλας· εκβαλω σε της τιμης.

do it? Becauſe I apprehended there was poiſon in the liquor. Poiſon, child? how could you think ſo? Yes; poiſon, papa: for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the gueſts had drank a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned: they ſung, made a noiſe, and talked they did not know what: you yourſelf ſeemed to have forgot you were king, and they that they were ſubjects; and when you would have danced, you could not ſtand upon your legs. Why, (ſays Aſtyages) have you never ſeen the ſame thing happen to your father? No, never (ſays Cyrus.) What then? how is it with him when he drinks? Why, when he has drank, his thirſt is quenched; and that is all."

We cannot too much admire the ſkill of the hiſtorian, in his giving ſuch an excellent leſſon of ſobriety in this ſtory. He might have done it in a ſerious grave way, and have ſpoken with the air of a philoſopher: for Xenophon, as much a warrior as he was, yet was he as excellent a philoſopher as his maſter Socrates. But inſtead of that, he puts the inſtruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a ſtory, which in the original is told with all the wit and agreeableneſs imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Perſia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated inſtances his grandfather had made to him to ſtay in Media; being deſirous, as he ſaid, to perfect himſelf in the art of riding, which he was not yet maſter of, and which was not known in Perſia, where the barrenneſs of the country, and its craggy mountainous ſituation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horſes.

During the time of his reſidence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and eſteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to aſk of the king, Cyrus was their ſolicitor. If the king had any ſubject of complaint againſt them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his; and he always managed them ſo well, that he obtained whatever he deſired.

When Cyrus was about ſixteen years of age, the ſon of the

king of the *Babylonians (this was Evil-Merodach, ſon of Nebuchadnezzar) at a hunting match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to ſhow his bravery, to make an eruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Aſtyages to take the field, to oppoſe the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, ſerved his apprenticeſhip in war. He behaved himſelf ſo well on this occaſion, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

A. M. 3421. Ant. J. C. 583. The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accompliſh his time in the Perſian exerciſes, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occaſion ſhowed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all ſorts of people, young and old. Aſtyages himſelf conducted him a good part of his journey on horſe-back; and when the ſad moment came, that they muſt part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the claſs of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long reſidence in ſo voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was preſent at any entertainment, he was more ſober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this firſt claſs he paſſed into the ſecond, which is the claſs of youths; and there it quickly appeared, that he had not his equal in dexterity, addreſs, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's claſs, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he ſet out at the head of the Perſian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

* In Xenophon this people are always called Aſſyrians; and in truth they are Aſſyrians, but Aſſyrians of Babylon, whom we muſt not confound with thoſe of Nineveh, whoſe empire, as we have ſeen already, was utterly deſtroyed by the ruin of Nineveh, the capital thereof.

SECT. III. *The first Campaign of Cyrus, who goes to succour his Uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians.*

[a] ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother. A. M. 3444. Ant. J. C. 560. Cyaxares was no sooner in the throne, but he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed, that the king of the Babylonians (Nerigliſſor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Crœsus, king of Lydia: that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power, Cyaxares therefore dispatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known, that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry (for the Persians as yet had no cavalry;) but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of which was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all: and these were the officers that were called * Ομοτιμοι, and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pike-men, ten slingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to one and thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom after having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the

[a] Cyrop. l. 1. c. 22—27.

* Men of the same dignity.

ſtrongeſt aſſurance of victory and ſucceſs. "Do you know," ſays he to them, "the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? they are ſoft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuouſneſs; men not able to bear either hunger or thirſt; equally incapable of ſupporting either the toil of war, or the ſight of danger: whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a ſober and hard way of living; to you, I ſay, hunger and thirſt are but the ſauce, and the only ſauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleaſure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only paſſion. Beſides, the juſtice of our cauſe is another conſiderable advantage. They are the aggreſſors. 'Tis the enemy that attacks us, and 'tis our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more juſt, than to repel the injury they would bring upon us? Is there any thing more honourable, than to fly to the aſſiſtance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition, without having firſt conſulted the gods, and implore their protection: for you know 'tis my cuſtom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559. Soon after, Cyrus ſet out without loſs of time: but before his departure, he invoked the gods of the country a ſecond time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterpriſe, great or ſmall, without conſulting the divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyſes had often taught him to conſider, that the prudence of men is very ſhort, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think muſt needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin: whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as paſt, and inſpire thoſe they love to undertake what is moſt expedient for them; which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to thoſe that invoke and conſult them.

Cambyſes accompanied his ſon as far as the frontiers of Perſia; and in the way gave him excellent inſtructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himſelf ignorant of nothing, that related to the buſineſs of

war, after the many leſſons he had received from the moſt able maſters of that time. "Have your maſters," ſays Cambyſes to him, "given you any inſtructions concerning œconomy, that is to ſay, concerning the manner of ſupplying an army with all neceſſary proviſions, of preventing ſickneſs, and preſerving the health of the ſoldiers, of fortifying their bodies by frequent exerciſes, of exciting a generous emulation amongſt them, of making yourſelf obeyed, eſteemed and beloved by your ſoldiers?" Upon each of theſe points, and upon ſeveral others mentioned by the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word ſpoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your maſters have taught you? They have taught me to fence," replied the prince, "to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to ſee them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyſes, ſmiling, gave his ſon to underſtand, that they had taught him nothing of what was moſt material and eſſential for a good officer, and an expert commander to know. And in one ſingle converſation, which certainly deſerves to be well ſtudied by all young gentlemen deſigned for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all his celebrated maſters had done, in the courſe of ſeveral years. I ſhall give but one ſhort inſtance of his diſcourſe, which may ſerve to give the reader an idea of the reſt.

The queſtion was, what are the proper means of making the ſoldiers obedient and ſubmiſſive? "The way to effect that," ſays Cyrus, "ſeems to be very eaſy, and very certain; it is only to praiſe and reward thoſe that obey, to puniſh and ſtigmatize ſuch as fail in their duty."—"You ſay well," replied Cambyſes; "that is the way to make them obey you by force, but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now the ſure method of effecting this is, to convince thoſe you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themſelves; for all mankind readily ſubmit to thoſe of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind ſubmiſſion proceeds, which you ſee ſick perſons pay to their phyſician, travellers to their guide, and a ſhip's

company to the pilot. Their obedience is only founded upon their perſuaſion, that the phyſician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more ſkilful and knowing in their reſpective callings, than themſelves."—"But what ſhall a man do," ſays Cyrus to his father, "to appear more ſkilful and expert than others?"—"He muſt really be ſo," replied Cambyſes; "and in order to be ſo, he muſt apply himſelf cloſely to his profeſſion, diligently ſtudy all the rules of it, conſult the moſt able and experienced maſters, neglect no circumſtance that may contribute to the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes; and, above all, he muſt have recourſe to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wiſdom, and all our ſucceſs."

[c] As ſoon as Cyrus had reached Cyaxares, the firſt thing he did, after the uſual compliments had paſſed, was to inform himſelf of the quality and number of the forces on both ſides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe; and that the united armies of the Medes and Perſians ſcarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not ſo many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to ſend for another body of troops from Perſia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, beſides that it would have taken too much time, appeared in itſelf impracticable. Cyrus immediately propoſed another, more ſure and more expeditious, which was, that his Perſian ſoldiers ſhould change their arms. As they chiefly uſed the bow and the javelin, and conſequently their manner of fighting was at a diſtance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was eaſily ſuperior to the leſſer, Cyrus was of opinion, that they ſhould be armed with ſuch weapons, as ſhould oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the ſuperiority of their numbers uſeleſs. This project was mightily approved, and inſtantly put in execution.

[d] Cyrus eſtabliſhed a wonderful order among the troops, and inſpired them with a ſurpriſing emulation by the re-

[c] Cyrop. l. ii. p. 38—40. [d] Cyrop. l. ii. p. 44.

wards he promiſed, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he ſet upon it was to give it away. He was continually making preſents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a ſword or ſomething of the ſame kind equally acceptable. By this generoſity, this greatneſs of ſoul, and beneficent diſpoſition, he thought a general ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richneſs of his clothes, and ſtill leſs by his haughtineſs and imperious demeanour. "[e] A commander could not," he ſaid, "give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reaſon he thought himſelf obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good-will; for though a prince might exhauſt his treaſures by making preſents, yet he could not injure himſelf by benevolence and humanity; by being ſincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is ſo."

[f] One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a meſſenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that ſome ambaſſadors being arrived from the king of the Indies, he deſired his preſence immediately. "For that purpoſe," ſays he, "I have brought you a rich garment, for the king deſires you would appear magnificently dreſſed before the Indians, to do the nation honour." Cyrus loſt not a moment's time, but inſtantly ſet out with his troops to wait upon the king; though without changing his dreſs, which was very plain, after the Perſian faſhion, and not (as the * Greek text has it) polluted or ſpoiled with any foreign ornament. Cyaxares ſeeming at firſt a little diſpleaſed at it: "If I had dreſſed myſelf in purple," ſays Cyrus, "and loaded myſelf with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that had been longer in coming, ſhould I have done you more honour, than I do now, by my expedition, and the ſweat of my face, and by letting all the world ſee with what promptitude and diſpatch your orders are obeyed?"

[e] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 207. [f] Ibid. p. 56.

* Ἐν τῃ Περσικῃ στολῃ οὐδεν σι ὑβρισμειη. A fine expreſſion, but not to be rendered into any other language with the ſame beauty.

Cyaxares, ſatisfied with this anſwer, ordered the Indian ambaſſadors to be introduced. The purport of their ſpeech was, that they were ſent by the king, their maſter, to learn the cauſe of the war, between the Medes and Babylonians, and that they had orders, as ſoon as they heard what the Medes ſhould ſay, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part; to the end that the king their maſter, after having examined the reaſons on both ſides, might take part with thoſe, who had right and juſtice on their ſide. This is making a noble and glorious uſe of great power. To be influenced only by juſtice, to conſult no advantage from the diviſion of neighbours, but to declare openly againſt the unjuſt aggreſſor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus anſwered, they had given the Babylonians no ſubject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the ſequel, that he declared for the Medes.

A. M. 3447. Ant. J. C. 557. [g] The king of Armenia, who was a vaſſal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be ſwallowed up by the formidable league formed againſt them, thought fit to lay hold on this occaſion to ſhake off their yoke. Accordingly he refuſed to pay them the accuſtomed tribute, and to ſend them the number of troops he was obliged to furniſh in time of war. This highly embarraſſed Cyaxares, who was afraid at this juncture of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himſelf exactly of the ſtrength and ſituation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his deſign ſecret, without which it was not likely to ſucceed. He therefore appointed a great hunting-match on that ſide of the country; for it was his cuſtom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's ſon, and the young noblemen of Armenia. On the day appointed, he ſet out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a diſtance, and were not to appear, till a ſignal was given. After ſome days hunting, when they were come pretty near to the palace where the court reſided, Cyrus communicated his deſign to his officers; and ſent

[g] Cyrop. l. ii. p. 58—61. and l. iii. p. 62—70.

Chryſanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themſelves maſters of a certain ſteep eminence, where he knew the king uſed to retire, in caſe of an alarm, with his family and his treaſure.

This being done, he ſends an herald to the king of Armenia, to ſummon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was court in greater ſurpriſe and perplexity. The king was conſcious of the wrong he had done; and was not in a condition to ſupport it. However he did what he could to aſſemble his forces together from all quarters; and in the mean time diſpatched his youngeſt ſon, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was moſt precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his ſcouts, that Cyrus was coming upon their heels, he entirely loſt all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to ſecure what was deareſt to him. Cyrus, ſeeing the country covered with people, that were endeavouring to make their eſcape, ſent them word, that no harm ſhould be done them, if they ſtaid in their houſes; but as many as were taken running away, ſhould be treated as enemies. This made them all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princeſſes to the mountains, fell into the ambuſh Chryſanthes had laid for them, and were moſt of them taken priſoners. The queen, the king's ſon, his daughters, his eldeſt ſon's wife, and his treaſures, all fell into the hands of the Perſians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence; where he was preſently inveſted by the Perſian army, and obliged to ſurrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midſt of the army. At that very inſtant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldeſt ſon, who was juſt retured from a journey. At ſo moving a ſpectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addreſſing himſelf to him, ſaid; "Prince, you are come very ſeaſonably to be preſent at the trial of your father." And immediately he aſſembled the captains of the Perſians and Medes; and called in alſo

the great men of Armenia. Nor did he ſo much as exclude the ladies from this aſſembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and ſee all that paſſed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded ſilence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the queſtions he was going to propoſe to him, he would anſwer ſincerely, becauſe nothing could be more unworthy a perſon of his rank, than to uſe diſſimulation or falſehood. The king promiſed he would. Then Cyrus aſked him, but at different times, propoſing each article, ſeparately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war againſt Aſtyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in conſequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Aſtyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furniſh a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impoſſible for the king to deny any of theſe facts, which were all public and notorious. "For what reaſon then," continued Cyrus, "have you violated the treaty in every article?"—"For no other," replied the king, "than becauſe I thought it a glorious thing to ſhake off a yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the ſame condition." "It is really glorious," anſwered Cyrus, "to fight in defence of liberty: but if any one, after he is reduced to ſervitude, ſhould attempt to run away from his maſter, what would you do with him?"—"I muſt confeſs," ſays the king, "I would puniſh him?"—"And if you had given a government to one of your ſubjects, and he ſhould be found to commit malverſations, would you continue him in his poſt?"—"No, certainly; I would put another in his place."—"And if he had amaſſed great riches by his unjuſt practices?"—"I would ſtrip him of them."—"But which is ſtill worſe, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?"—"Though I ſhould paſs ſentence upon myſelf," replied the king, "I muſt declare the truth: I would put him to death." At theſe words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burſt out into lamentations and outcries, as if ſentence had actually paſſed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded ſilence, Tigranes addreſſed himſelf to the prince to this effect: "Great prince, can you think it conſiſtent with your wiſdom to put my father to death, even againſt your own intereſt?"—"How againſt my intereſt?" replies Cyrus. "Becauſe he never was ſo capable of doing you ſervice."—"How do you make that appear? do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to conſideration and favour?"—"They certainly do, provided they ſerve to make us wiſer. For of ineſtimable value is wiſdom: are either riches, courage, or addreſs, to be compared to it?—Now it is evident, this ſingle day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wiſdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has coſt him. He has proved and felt how much you are ſuperior to him in all reſpects. He has not been able to ſucceed in any of his deſigns; but you have happily accompliſhed all yours; and with that expedition and ſecrecy, that he has found himſelf ſurrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has ſerved only to enſnare him."—"But your father," replied Cyrus, "has yet undergone no ſufferings that can have taught him wiſdom."—"The fear of evils," anſwered Tigranes, "when it is ſo well founded as this is, has a much ſharper ſting, and is more capable of piercing the ſoul, than the evil itſelf. Beſides, permit me to ſay, that gratitude is a ſtronger, and more prevailing motive, than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than thoſe you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, ſceptre, life, wives, and children, all reſtored to him with ſuch a generoſity: where can you find, illuſtrious prince, in one ſingle perſon, ſo many ſtrong and powerful ties to attach him to your ſervice."

"Well then (replied Cyrus, turning to the king), if I ſhould yield to your ſon's entreaties, with what number of men, and what ſum of money, will you aſſiſt us in the war againſt the Babylonians?"—"My troops and treaſures (ſays the Armenian king) are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raiſe forty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe; and as to money, I reckon, including the treaſure which my father left me, there are about three

thouſand talents ready money. All theſe are wholly at your diſpoſal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country againſt the * Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and inſtead of fifty talents exacted a hundred, and borrowed the like ſum over and above in his own name. "But what would you give me (added Cyrus) for the ranſom of your wives?"—"All that I have in the world," (anſwered the king.) "And for the ranſom of your children?"—"The ſame thing.—"From this time then you are indebted to me the double of all your poſſeſſions."—"And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your lady?" Now he had but lately married her, and was paſſionately fond of her. "At the price (ſays he) of a thouſand lives, if I had them?" Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at ſupper. It is eaſy to imagine what tranſports of joy there muſt have been on this occaſion.

After ſupper, as they were diſcourſing upon various ſubjects, Cyrus aſked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often ſeen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular eſteem." "Alas! (ſays Tigranes) he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I loſt him." Cyrus preſſing him to tell him; "My father, (continued Tigranes) ſeeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, was jealous it might be of ſome ill conſequence, and put him to death. But he was ſo honeſt a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he ſent for me, and ſpoke to me in theſe words: *Tigranes, let not my death occaſion any diſaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a falſe notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.*" "O the excellent man! (cried Cyrus) never forget the laſt advice he gave you."

When the converſation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a perfect recon-

* Xenophon never calls the people of Babylonia Chaldeans. But Herodotus, l. vii. c. 63. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. ſtyle them ſo. The Chaldeans meant in this place were a people adjoining to Armenia.

ciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; ſome extolling his wiſdom, others his valour; ſome admiring the ſweetneſs of his temper, others praiſing the beauty of his perſon, and the majeſty of his mien. "And you (ſays Tigranes, addreſſing himſelf to his lady) what do you think of Cyrus's aſpect and deportment?"—"I do not know (replied the lady) I did not obſerve him."—"Upon what object then did you fix your eyes?"—"Upon him that ſaid he would give a thouſand lives to ranſom my liberty."

The next day, the king of Armenia ſent preſents to Cyrus, and refreſhments for his whole army, and brought him double the ſum of money he was required to furniſh. But Cyrus took only what had been ſtipulated, and reſtored him the reſt. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes deſired to command them.

I have thought proper, for ſeveral reaſons, to give ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair; though I have ſo far abridged it, that it is not above a quarter of what we find of it in Xenophon.

In the firſt place, it may ſerve to give the reader a notion of the ſtyle of that excellent hiſtorian, and excite his curioſity to conſult the original, whoſe natural and unaffected beauties are ſufficient to juſtify the ſingular eſteem, which perſons of good taſte have ever had for the noble ſimplicity of that author. To mention but one inſtance; what an idea of chaſtity and modeſty, and at the ſame, what a wonderful ſimplicity and delicacy of thought are there, in the anſwer of Tigranes's wife, who has no eyes but for her huſband!

In the ſecond place, thoſe ſhort, cloſe, and preſſing interrogations, each of which demanded a direct, preciſe anſwer, from the king of Armenia, diſcover the diſciple and ſcholar of Socrates, and ſhow in what manner he retained the taſte of his maſter.

Beſides this relation will give us ſome idea of the judgment that ought to be formed of Xenophon's Cyropedia: the ſubſtance of which is true, though it is embelliſhed with ſeveral circumſtances, added by the author, and introduced expreſsly to grace his inſtructive leſſons, and the excellent

rules he lays down upon government. Thus much therefore, in the event we are treating of, is real. The king of Armenia having refuſed to pay the Medes the tribute he owed them, Cyrus attacked him ſuddenly, and before he ſuſpected any deſigns were formed againſt him, made himſelf maſter of the only fortreſs he had, and took his family priſoners; obliged him to pay the uſual tribute, and to furniſh his quota of troops; and after all ſo won upon him by his humanity and courteous behaviour, that he rendered him one of the faithfulleſt and moſt affectionate allies the Medes ever had. The reſt is inſerted only by way of embelliſhment, and is rather to be aſcribed to the hiſtorian than to hiſtory itſelf.

I ſhould never have found out myſelf, what the ſtory of the governor's being put to death by Tigranes's father ſignified, though I was very ſenſible it was a kind of enigma, and figurative of ſomething elſe. * A perſon of quality, one of the greateſt wits and fineſt ſpeakers of the laſt age, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Greek authors, explained it to me many years ago, which I have not forgot, and which I take to be the true meaning of that enigma. He ſuppoſed Xenophon intended it as a picture of the death of his maſter Socrates, whom the ſtate of Athens became jealous of, on account of the extraordinary attachment all the youth of the city had to him; which at laſt gave occaſion to that philoſopher's condemnation and death, which he ſuffered without murmur or complaint.

In the laſt place, I thought it proper not to miſs this opportunity of manifeſting ſuch qualities in my hero, as are not always to be met with in perſons of his rank; ſuch as, by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military virtues, would moſt contribute to the ſucceſs of their deſigns. In moſt conquerors we find courage, reſolution, intrepidity, a capacity for martial exploits, and all ſuch talents as make a noiſe in the world, and are apt to dazzle people by their glaring outſide: but an inward ſtock of goodneſs, compaſſion, and gentleneſs towards the unhappy, an air of moderation and reſerve, even in proſperity and victory, an inſinuating and perſuaſive behaviour, the art of

* M. le Comte Treſvilles.

gaining people's hearts, and attaching them to him more by affection than intereſt; a conſtant and unalterable care always to have right on his ſide, and to imprint ſuch a character of juſtice and equity upon all his conduct, as his very enemies are forced to revere; and laſtly ſuch a clemency, as to diſtinguiſh thoſe who offend through imprudence rather than malice, and to leave room for their repentance, by giving them an opportunity to return to their duty: theſe are qualities rarely found in the moſt celebrated conquerors of antiquity, but ſhone out moſt conſpicuouſly in Cyrus.

[h] To return to my ſubject. Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him ſome ſignal ſervice. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually haraſſed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himſelf of their character, ſtrength, and the ſituation of their ſtrong holds, marched againſt them. On the firſt intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences to which they were accuſtomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to aſſemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the ſooner to an engagement. And, indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Perſians, they were not able to ſtand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken priſoners, and the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed. Cyrus himſelf ſpoke to the priſoners, aſſuring them he was not come to injure them, or to ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reaſonable terms, and to ſet them at liberty. Deputies were immediately ſent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better ſecurity of both nations, and with their common conſent, Cyrus cauſed a fortreſs to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garriſon in it, which was to declare againſt either of the two nations that ſhould violate the treaty.

[h] Cyrop. l. iii. p. 70—76.

Cyrus underſtanding that there was frequent commerce and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, deſired that the latter would ſend perſons to accompany and conduct his ambaſſador, whom he was preparing to ſend to the king of India. The purport of this embaſſy was, to deſire ſome ſuccours in money, from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Perſia, and promiſed that if the gods crowned his deſigns with ſucceſs, that potentate ſhould have no reaſon to repent of having aſſiſted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to ſecond his requeſt, which they could do the more advantageouſly, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambaſſador ſet out the next day, accompanied with ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of Chaldea, who were directed by their maſter to act with all poſſible dexterity, and to do Cyrus's merit all poſſible juſtice.

The expedition againſt the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thouſand Chaldeans, the braveſt of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promiſed him: ſo that he arrived in Media, with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army, than he had when he left it.

SECT. IV. *The Expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus againſt the Babylonians. The firſt Battle.*

A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 556. [i] BOTH parties had been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardor, and ready for action, propoſed to Cyaxares his leading them againſt Aſſyria. His reaſons for it were, that he thought it his duty to eaſe him as ſoon as poſſible, of the care and expence of maintaining two armies; that it was better they ſhould eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that ſo bold a ſtep, as that of going to meet the Aſſyrians, might be capable of ſpreading a terror in their army, and at the

[i] Cyrop. l. iii. p. 78—87.

ſame time inſpire their own with the greater confidence; that, laſtly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyſes, his father, that victory did not ſo much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his propoſal.

As ſoon therefore as the cuſtomary ſacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire; beſeeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inſpire them with ſuch a meaſure of courage and prudence as was neceſſary, and, in ſhort, to bleſs their arms with proſperity and ſucceſs. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterpriſes, with prayer: and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himſelf, in the preſence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Aſſyria, it was ſtill their firſt care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and ſuccour: after which, they began, to make incurſions into the country, and carried off a great deal of ſpoil.

Cyrus, underſtanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance forwards, and march up to them. When the armies came within ſight, both ſides prepared for battle. The Aſſyrians were encamped in the open country; and, according to their cuſtom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompaſſed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus on the contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as poſſible, of the ſight and knowledge of the ſmallneſs of their army, covered his troops with ſeveral little hills and villages. Several days nothing was done on either ſide, but looking at and obſerving one another. At length a numerous body of the Aſſyrians moving firſt out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was,

* *Jupiter protector & conductor.* He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded, in honour of Castor and Pollux, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardor (θεοσεβως) answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. "For it is observable (says the historian) in this place, that on these occasions, those that fear the deity most, are the least afraid of men." On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges, before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Crœsus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to the very camp, made a terrible slaughter, and the king of the Babylonians (Nerigliſſor) was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their intrenchments, sounded a retreat..

[k] The Assyrians, in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. [l] As soon as Crœsus found them in so great a disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him, how dangerous it was to drive so powerful

[k] Cyrop. lib. iv. p. 87, 104. [l] Ibid. l. vi. p. 160.

* I do not know whether Xenophon, in this place, does not call the Persian gods by the names of the gods of his own country.

an army to extremities, whom deſpair would probably inſpire with courage; that it was a part of wiſdom to uſe good fortune with moderation, and not loſe the fruits of victory by too much vivacity: moreover, that he did not care to compel the Medes, or to refuſe them that repoſe, to which their behaviour had juſtly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, deſired his permiſſion only to take as many of the horſe as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily conſented to this, and thought of nothing elſe now, but of paſſing his time with his officers in feaſting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had juſt obtained.

Cyrus marched away in purſuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greateſt part of the Median ſoldiers. Upon the way he met ſome couriers, that were coming to him from the *Hyrcanians, who ſerved in the enemy's army, to aſſure him, that as ſoon as ever he appeared, thoſe Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the beſt uſe of his time, and having marched all night, came up with the Aſſyrians. Crœſus had ſent away his wives in the night-time for coolneſs (for it was the ſummer ſeaſon) and followed them himſelf with a body of cavalry. When the Aſſyrians ſaw the enemy ſo near them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion and deſolation. Many of thoſe that ran away, being warmly purſued, were killed; all that ſtaid in the camp, ſurrendered; the victory was complete, and the ſpoil immenſe. Cyrus reſerved all the horſes they took in the camp for himſelf, reſolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Perſian army, which hitherto had none. The richeſt and moſt valuable part of the booty he ſet apart for Cyaxares; and for the priſoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without impoſing any other condition upon them, than that they and their countrymen ſhould deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himſelf to defend them againſt their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire ſecurity.

* Theſe are not the Hyrcanians by the Caſpian Sea. From obſerving Cyrus's encampments in Babylonia, one would be apt to conjecture, that the Hyrcanians here meant were about four or five days journey ſouth of Babylon.

Whilſt the Medes and the Hyrcanians were ſtill purſuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus took care to have a repaſt, and even baths prepared for them; that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to ſit down and refreſh themſelves. He likewiſe thought fit to defer the diſtribution of the ſpoil till then. It was on this occaſion this general, whoſe thoughts nothing eſcaped, exhorted his Perſian ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their generoſity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great ſervices, and of whom they might expect ſtill greater. He deſired they would wait their return, both for the refreſhments, and the diviſion of the ſpoil; and that they would ſhow a preference of their intereſts and conveniencies before their own; giving them to underſtand, that this would be a ſure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of ſecuring a new harveſt of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wiſh, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary loſſes they might ſuſtain, for the ſake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from purſuing the enemy, Cyrus made them ſit down to the repaſt he had prepared for them, deſiring them to ſend nothing but bread to the Perſians, who were ſufficiently provided (he ſaid) with all they wanted either for their ragoos, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink. For that was the way of living, to which they had been accuſtomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the diviſion of the ſpoils. Cyrus in the firſt place ordered the Magi to be called, and commanded them to chooſe out of all the booty what was propereſt to be offered to the gods on ſuch an occaſion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained amongſt the whole army. They earneſtly deſired, that the Perſians might preſide in the diſtribution; but the Perſians abſolutely refuſed it; ſo that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the diſtribution was made to the general ſatisfaction of all parties.

[m] The very night that Cyrus marched to purſue the enemy, Cyaxares had paſſed in feaſting and jollity, and had made himſelf drunk with his principal officers. The next morning when he awaked, he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find himſelf almoſt alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of reſentment and rage, he diſpatched an expreſs to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus ſeverely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreaſonable proceeding did not diſmay Cyrus, who in return wrote him a reſpectful letter; in which however he expreſſed himſelf with a generous and noble freedom, juſtified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permiſſion he had given him of taking as many Medes with him, as were willing to follow him. At the ſame time Cyrus ſent into Perſia, for an augmentation of his troops, deſigning to puſh his conqueſts ſtill farther.

[n] Amongſt the priſoners of war they had taken, there was a young princeſs of moſt exquiſite beauty, which they reſerved for Cyrus. Her name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Suſiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus, of her extraordinary beauty, he refuſed to ſee her; for fear (as he ſaid) ſuch an object might engage his affection more than he deſired, and divert him from the proſecution of the great deſigns he had in view. [o] This ſingular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Perſians, never to ſpeak before young people of any thing that tended or related to love, leſt their natural inclination to pleaſure, which is ſo ſtrong and violent at that age of levity and indiſcretion, ſhould be awakened and excited by ſuch diſcourſes, and ſhould hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araſpes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his cuſtody, had not the ſame diſtruſt of his own weakneſs, but pretended, that a man may be always maſter of himſelf. Cyrus committed the princeſs to his care, and at the ſame time gave him a very prudent admonition. "I have ſeen a great many perſons," ſays he, "that have thought themſelves very ſtrong, wretchedly

[m] Cyrop. l. iv. p. 104—108.

[n] Ibid. l. v. p. 114, 117; & l. vi. p. 153, 155. [o] Lib. i. p. 34.

overcome by that violent paſſion, in ſpite of all their reſolution; who have owned afterwards, with ſhame and grief, that their paſſion was a bondage and ſlavery, from which they had not the power to redeem themſelves; an incurable diſtemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of * bond or neceſſity, more difficult to force than the ſtrongeſt chains of iron." "Fear nothing," replied Araſpes, "I am ſure of myſelf, and I will anſwer with my life, I ſhall do nothing contrary to my duty." Nevertheleſs his paſſion for this young princeſs increaſed, and by degrees grew to ſuch a height, that finding her invincibly averſe to his deſires, he was upon the point of uſing violence with her. The princeſs at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately ſent Artabaſus to Araſpes, with orders to admoniſh and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harſheſt manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the moſt bitter terms, and with ſuch rigorous ſeverity, as was enough to throw him into deſpair. Araſpes, ſtruck to the ſoul with grief and anguiſh, burſt into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with ſhame and fear, thinking himſelf undone, had not a word to ſay for himſelf. Some days afterwards, Cyrus ſent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aſide, and, inſtead of reproaching him with ſeverity as he expected, ſpoke gently to him; acknowledging, that he himſelf was to blame, for having imprudently expoſed him to ſo formidable an enemy. By ſuch an unexpected kindneſs the young nobleman recovered both life and ſpeech. But his confuſion, joy, and gratitude, expreſſed themſelves firſt in a torrent of tears. "Alas!" ſays he, "now I am come to the knowledge of myſelf, and find moſt plainly, that I have two ſouls; one, that inclines me to good; another, that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when you ſpeak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myſelf, I give way to and am overpowered by the latter." Araſpes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and rendered Cyrus conſiderable ſervice, by retiring among the Aſſyrians, under the pretence of diſcontent, and by giving intelligence of their meaſures and deſigns.

* Αεδεμενους ισχυροτερα τινι αναγκη, η τι σιδηρω εδεδεντο.

[p] The loſs of ſo brave an officer, whom diſcontent was ſuppoſed to have engaged in the enemy's party, cauſed a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occaſioned it, promiſed Cyrus to ſupply his place with an officer of equal merit; whereby ſhe meant her huſband Abradates. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Perſians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handſomely ſhe had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how," cried out Abradates, "ſhall I be able to acknowledge ſo important a ſervice?" "By behaving towards him," replied Panthea, "as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his reſpects to ſo great a benefactor: "You ſee before you," ſays he to him, "the tendereſt friend, the moſt devoted ſervant, and the faithfulleſt ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwiſe to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himſelf entirely to your ſervice." Cyrus received him with ſuch a noble and generous air, and withal with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea ſaid of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly ſhort of the truth.

[q] Two Aſſyrian noblemen, likewiſe, who deſigned, as Cyrus was informed, to put themſelves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary ſervice. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Aſſyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had reſolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's ſon, and for that reaſon had ſent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beaſt with his dart, which the king's ſon had miſſed. The latter, who was of a paſſionate and ſavage nature, immediately ſtruck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the ſpot. Gobryas beſought Cyrus to avenge ſo unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, becauſe

[p] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 155, 156. [q] Ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 113.

he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been deſigned for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. This young king was called Laboroſoarchod: he reigned only nine months, and was ſucceeded by Nabonid, called alſo Labynit and Balthaſar, who reigned ſeventeen years.

A. M. 3449. Ant. J. C. 555.

[s] The other Aſſyrian nobleman was called Gadates: he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne; becauſe one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handſome man, and ſpoken advantageouſly of the happineſs of that woman, whom he ſhould chooſe for a wife.

[t] The expectation of this double ſuccour was a ſtrong inducement to Cyrus, and made him determine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire, he deſigned to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himſelf acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous diſpoſitions and preparations for the ſiege he meditated. He ſet out therefore with his troops, and firſt marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortreſs he lived in ſeemed to be an impregnable place, ſo advantageouſly was it ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified on all ſides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreſhments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of ſilver and golden cups, and other veſſels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purſes, full of the golden coin of the country: then ſending for his daughter, who was of a majeſtic ſhape, and exquiſite beauty, which the mourning habit ſhe wore for her brother's death ſeemed ſtill to enhance, he preſented her to Cyrus, deſiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept thoſe marks of his acknowledgment, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and ſilver," ſays Cyrus,

[s] Cyrop. l. v. p. 123, 124. [t] Lib. v. p. 119, 123.

" and I make a preſent of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongſt the nobles of my court, you will find a match ſuitable for her. It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they will ſet their eſteem upon. I can aſſure you, there are many amongſt them, that would make no account of all the treaſures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themſelves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and reſpectful to the gods." Gobryas preſſed him to take a repaſt with him in his houſe, but he ſtedfaſtly refuſed it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who ſtaid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be ſuppoſed the whole entertainment was ſuitable. Gobryas, who was a perſon of good ſenſe, was convinced how much that noble ſimplicity was ſuperior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Aſſyrians had the art of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by pride, and the Perſians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulneſs, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

[u] Cyrus, always intent upon his great deſign, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this there was a ſtrong citadel, which commanded the country of the * Sacæ and the Caduſians, where a governor for the king of Babylon reſided, to keep thoſe people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whoſe intelligence with the Perſians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, offered himſelf to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly he was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The poſſeſſion of this citadel made him maſter of the Sacæ and the Caduſians; and as he treated thoſe people with great kindneſs and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his ſervice. The Caduſians raiſed an

[u] Cyrop. l. v. p. 124—140.

* Not the Sacæ of Scythia.

army of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and the Sacæ furniſhed ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe archers.

The king of Aſſyria took the field, in order to puniſh Gadates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great ſlaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit this conqueror employed ſome time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the priſoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had ſpread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily ſurrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he ſent the king of Aſſyria a perſonal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a ſingle combat: but his challenge was not accepted. In order to ſecure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his abſence, he made a kind of truce, or treaty with the king of Aſſyria, by which it was agreed on both ſides, that the huſbandmen ſhould not be moleſted, but ſhould have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the ſituation of Babylon, acquired a conſiderable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media.

[x] When he came near the frontiers, he ſent a meſſenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit ſo great an army into his country; and an army, that was ſtill going to receive an augmentation of forty thouſand men, juſt arrived from Perſia. He therefore ſet out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewiſe advanced forwards to meet him with his cavalry, that was very fine and numerous. The ſight of thoſe troops rekindled the jealouſy and diſſatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his ſalute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a converſation with his

[x] Cyrop. l. v. p. 141—147.

uncle, for explaining himſelf with more freedom. He ſpoke to him with ſo much temper, ſubmiſſion, and reaſon; gave him ſuch ſtrong proofs of his integrity, reſpect, and inviolable attachment to his perſon and intereſt, that in a moment he diſpelled all his ſuſpicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were ſhed on both ſides. How great the joy of the Perſians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expreſſed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horſes; and then all the Medes ranged themſelves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the ſign given them by Cyrus. The Perſians followed Cyrus, and the men of each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was preſently viſited by almoſt all the Medes who came to ſalute him, and to bring him preſents; ſome of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his ſubjects, and that the Medes had the ſame affection for him as before.

[y] Such was the ſucceſs of Cyrus's firſt expedition againſt Crœſus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the preſence of Cyaxares, and all the officers, it was reſolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date, that preciſely fixes the years, wherein the ſeveral events he relates happened, I ſuppoſe with Uſher, though Xenophon's relation does not ſeem to favour this notion, that between the two battles againſt Crœſus and the Babylonians, ſeveral years paſſed, during which all neceſſary preparations were made on both ſides, for carrying on the important war which was begun, and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

[z] Cyrus then about this time had thought of making a tour into his own country, about ſix or ſeven years after his departure, at the head of the Perſian army. Cyaxares on this occaſion gave him a ſignal teſtimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male iſſue, and but one

[y] Cyrop. l. i. p. 148—151. [z] Ibid. l. viii. p. 228, 229.

daughter, he offered her in marriage * to Cyrus, with an aſſurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful ſenſe of this advantageous offer, and expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgments of it; but thought himſelf not at liberty to accept it, till he had the conſent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the reſpectful ſubmiſſion and entire dependance, which all children ought to ſhow to their parents on the like occaſion, of what age ſoever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatneſs they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princeſs on his return from Perſia.

When the marriage ſolemnity was over, Cyrus reurned to his camp, and improving the time he had to ſpare, in ſecuring his new conqueſts, and taking all proper meaſures with his allies for accompliſhing the great deſign he had formed.

[a] Foreſeeing (ſays Xenophon) that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the ſame diſcipline and exerciſe, as if the enemy had been always in ſight.

They underſtood by deſerters, and by the priſoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vaſt ſums of gold and ſilver. The common ſoldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treaſures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raiſe up ſome new enemy againſt him; and there-

[a] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 151.

* Xenophon places this marriage after the taking of Babylon. But as Cyrus at that time was above ſixty years of age, and the princeſs not much leſs, and as it is improbable, that either of them ſhould wait till that age, before they thought of matrimony, I thought proper to give this fact a more early date. Beſides, at that rate, Cambyſes would have been but ſeven years old when he came to the throne, and but fourteen or fifteen when he died; which cannot be reconciled with the expeditions he made into Egypt and Ethiopia, nor with the reſt of his hiſtory. Perhaps Xenophon might date the taking of Babylon much earlier than we do; but I follow the chronology of Archbiſhop Uſher. I have alſo left out what it related in the Cyropædia, (l. viii. p. 228) that from the time Cyrus was at the court of his grandfather Aſtyages, the young princeſs had ſaid ſhe would have no other huſband than Cyrus. Her father Cyaxares was then but thirteen years old.

fore he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a ſecond battle.

Above all things he applied himſelf to ſtrengthen his Perſian cavalry, and to have great number of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniencies in the old ones, the faſhion of which came from Troy, and had continued in uſe till that time throughout all Aſia.

[b] In this interval, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of India, with a large ſum of money for Cyrus, from the king their maſter, who had alſo ordered them to aſſure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he ſtill wanted more money, he had nothing to do but let him know; and that in ſhort, he had ordered his ambaſſadors to pay him the ſame abſolute obedience, as to himſelf. Cyrus received theſe obliging offers with all poſſible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambaſſadors with the utmoſt regard, and made them noble preſents; and taking advantage of their good diſpoſition, deſired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of propoſing an alliance with the king of Aſſyria, but in effect to diſcover his deſigns, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themſelves of it with great ability.

I do not find in this laſt circumſtance the upright conduct and uſual ſincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations to ſend ſpies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambaſſadors; which is a character, that will not ſuffer thoſe inveſted with it to act ſo mean a part, or to be guilty of ſuch treachery?

[c] Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle, like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been reſolved in council, but took pleaſure in exciting a noble emulation amongſt his officers, who ſhould have the fineſt arms, be the beſt mounted, fling a dart, or ſhoot an arrow the moſt dexterouſly, or who ſhould undergo toil and fatigue with the

[b] Cyrop. p. 156, 157. [c] Ibid. l. vi. p. 157.

greateſt patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by conſtantly rewarding thoſe that diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. Wherever he perceived, that the captains took a particular care of their men, he praiſed them publicly, and ſhowed them all poſſible favour for their encouragement. When he made them any feaſt, he never propoſed any other diverſions than military exerciſes, and always gave conſiderable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited an univerſal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general who, in repoſe, as well as action, nay, even, in his pleaſures, his meals, converſations and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the ſervice. It is by ſuch methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

[d] In the mean time, the Indian ambaſſadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Crœſus was choſen generaliſſimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furniſh the neceſſary ſums of money for raiſing the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themſelves; that from Egypt a great ſuccour was marching, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty thouſand men; that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Aſſyrians were likewiſe come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and moſt part of the Greeks living in Aſia, had been obliged to join them; that Crœſus had likewiſe ſent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was aſſembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbra, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by accounts brought in, both by the priſoners and the ſpies.

[e] Cyrus's army was diſcouraged by this news. But that prince having aſſembled his officers, and repreſented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, ſoon diſpelled their fears, and revived their courage.

[d] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 178. [e] Pag. 159.

[f] Cyrus had taken all proper meaſures, that his army ſhould be provided with all neceſſaries; and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in the doing of which he deſcended to an aſtoniſhing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very loweſt ſubaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon ſuch precautions the ſucceſs of enterpriſes depends, which often miſcarry through the neglect of the ſmalleſt circumſtances; in the ſame manner, as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greateſt machines is ſtopped through the diſorder of one ſingle wheel, though ever ſo ſmall.

[g] This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making uſe of a low, but ſignificant compariſon, he uſed to ſay, "He thought it ſtrange that an artificer ſhould know the names of all his tools, and a general ſhould be ſo indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the inſtruments he muſt make uſe of, in all his enterpriſes and operations." Beſides, he was perſuaded, that ſuch attention had ſomething in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe, they are both known and eſteemed by their general.

[h] When all the preparations were finiſhed, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who ſtaid in Media, with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceleſs.

Cyrus, who underſtood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the ſeat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forwards to meet them in their territories, that he might both conſume their forage by his troops, and diſconcert their meaſures by his expedition, and the boldneſs of his undertaking. After a very long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine, this

[f] Cyrop. p. 158—163. [g] Ibid. l. v. p. 131, 132.
[h] Ibid. l. vi. p. 160, 161.

prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee him come, before they had time to lay up the proviſions neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of their numerous army, or to aſſemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field againſt him.

SECT. V. *The Battle of Thymbra between Cyrus and Cræſus.*

THIS battle is one of the moſt conſiderable events in antiquity, ſince it decided the empire of Aſia, between the Aſſyrians of Babylon and the Perſians. *It was this conſideration, that induced Mr. Freret, one of my brethren in the academy of polite literature, to examine it with a particular care and exactneſs; and the rather, as he obſerves, becauſe it is the firſt pitched battle of which we hear any full or particular account. I have aſſumed the privilege of making uſe of the labours and learning of other perſons, but without robbing them of the glory, as alſo without denying myſelf the liberty of making ſuch alterations as I judge neceſſary. I ſhall give a more ample and particular deſcription of this battle, than I uſually do of ſuch matters, becauſe Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greateſt captains of antiquity, thoſe of the profeſſion may be glad to trace him in all his ſteps through this important action: moreover the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles is an eſſential part of their hiſtory.

[i] In Cyrus's army the companies of foot conſiſted of a hundred men each, excluſively of the captain. Each company was ſubdivided into four parts or platoons, which conſiſted of four and twenty men each, not including the perſon that commanded the eſcouade. Each of theſe ſubdiviſions was again divided into two files, conſiſting in conſequence of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular ſuperior officer to command them, which ſufficiently anſwers to what we call a colonel; and ten of thoſe bodies again had another ſuperior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

[i] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

* Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, p. 532.

[k] I have already obſerved, that Cyrus, when he firſt came at the head of the thirty thouſand Perſians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a conſiderable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them till then only made uſe of javelins, or bows, and conſequently could only fight at a diſtance from the enemy. Inſtead of theſe, Cyrus armed the greateſt part of them with cuiraſſes, bucklers, and ſwords, or battle-axes; and left few of his ſoldiers in light armour.

[l] The Perſians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horſeback. Cyrus, who was convinced, that nothing was of ſo great importance towards the gaining of a battle, as cavalry, was ſenſible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that reſpect, and therefore took wiſe and early precautions to remedy that evil. He ſucceeded in his deſign, and by little and little formed a body of Perſian cavalry, which amounted to ten thouſand men, and were the beſt troops of his army.

I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the other change he introduced, with reſpect to the chariots of war. It is now time for us to give the number of the troops of both armies, which cannot be fixed but by conjecture, and by putting together ſeveral ſcattered paſſages of Xenophon, that author having omitted the material circumſtance of acquainting us preciſely with their numbers; which appears ſurpriſing in a man ſo expert in military affairs as that hiſtorian was.

Cyrus's army amounted in the whole to a hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand men, horſe and foot. Of theſe there were ſeventy thouſand natural born Perſians, *viz.* ten thouſand cuiraſſiers of horſe, twenty thouſand cuiraſſiers of foot, twenty thouſand pike-men, and twenty thouſand light-armed ſoldiers. The reſt of the army, to the number of a hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand men, conſiſted of twenty-ſix thouſand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horſe, and a hundred thouſand foot of the ſame nations.

[m] Beſides theſe troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with ſcythes, each chariot drawn by four horſes abreaſt, covered with trappings that were ſhot-proof; as were alſo the horſes of the Perſian cuiraſſiers.

[k] Cyrop. l. ii. p. 39, 40. [l] Ibid. l. iv. p. 99, 100. & l. v. p. 138.
[m] Ibid. l. vi. p. 152, 153, 157.

[n] He had likewiſe ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a large ſize, upon each of which was placed a tower of about eighteen or twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by ſixteen oxen yoked in a breaſt.

[o] There was moreover a conſiderable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; ſo that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

[p] Crœſus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thouſand men, of which ſixty thouſand were cavalry. The troops conſiſted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Helleſpont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and ſixty thouſand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of a hundred and twenty thouſand. They had bucklers, that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and ſhort ſwords, but very broad. The reſt of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cicilians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

[q] Crœſus's army in order of battle was all ranged in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horſe, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were a hundred and twenty thouſand in number, and who were the principal ſtrength of Crœſus's infantry, in the centre of which they were poſted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or of ſquare battalions, of ten thouſand men each, which had a hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or ſpace between every battalion, that they might act and fight, independent of, and without interfering with one another. Crœſus would gladly have perſuaded them to range themſelves in leſs depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immenſe plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left: and the deſign of Crœſus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to ſurround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not

[n] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 156. [o] Page 153, 158. [p] Page 150. [q] Page 166.

prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle, to which they had been accuſtomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty ſtadias, or five miles in length.

Araſpes, who under the pretence of diſcontent, had retired to Crœſus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus, to obſerve well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Perſian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himſelf by the diſpoſition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

[r] The Perſian troops had been generally uſed to engage four-and-twenty men in depth, but Cyrus thought fit to change that diſpoſition. It was neceſſary for him to form as wide a front as poſſible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being encloſed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and moſt advantageouſly armed with cuiraſſes, partizans, battle-axes, and ſwords; and provided they could join the enemy in cloſe fight, there was little reaſon to believe the Lydian phalanx, that were only armed with light bucklers and javelins, could ſupport the charge. Cyrus therefore thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chryſantes, and the left by Hyſtaſpes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two ſtadias, or four miles in extent; and conſequently was at each end near four ſtadias, or half a mile ſhort of the enemy's front.

Behind the firſt line, at a little diſtance, Cyrus placed the ſpear-men, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the ſoldiers in their front, over whoſe heads they could fling their javelins, and ſhoot their arrows, at the enemy.

Behind all theſe he formed another line, to ſerve for the rear, which conſiſted of the flower of his army. Their buſineſs was to have their eyes upon thoſe that were placed before them, to encourage thoſe that did their duty, to ſuſtain and threaten thoſe that gave way, and even to kill thoſe as traitors that run away; by that means to keep the

[r] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 167.

cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could poſſibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed thoſe moving towers, which I have already deſcribed. Theſe formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only ſerve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual diſcharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewiſe be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Perſian troops might rally, in caſe they were broken and puſhed by the enemy.

Juſt behind theſe towers were two other lines, which alſo were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and ſuch other perſons as were unfit for ſervice.

[s] To cloſe all theſe lines, and to ſecure them from the inſults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thouſand infantry, two thouſand horſe, and the troop of camels which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's deſign in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewiſe to oblige the enemy's, in caſe they were reſolved to ſurround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and conſequently to weaken their line, by ſtretching it out ſo far.

We have ſtill the Perſian chariots of war armed with ſcythes to ſpeak of. Theſe were divided into three bodies, of a hundred each. One of theſe bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of *Suſiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army.

Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and diſpoſed the day before the engagement.

[t] The next day very early in the morning, Cyrus made a ſacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreſhment; and the ſoldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was ſight more beautiful and magnificent: coat-armours, cuiraſſes, bucklers, helmets, one could not tell which to admire moſt: men

[s] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 168. [t] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 169.

* Or Suſhan.

and horſes all finely equipped, and glittering in braſs and ſcarlet.

[u] When Abradates was juſt going to put on his cuiraſs, which was only of quilted flax, according to the faſhion of his country, his wife Panthea came and preſented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her huſband's knowledge, that the preſent might be more agreeable from ſurpriſe. In ſpite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when ſhe dreſſed him in this armour, ſhe ſhed ſome tears. But notwithſtanding her tenderneſs for him, ſhe exhorted him to die with ſword in hand, rather than not ſignalize himſelf in a manner ſuitable to his birth, and the idea ſhe had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations (ſays ſhe) to that prince are infinitely great. I was his priſoner, and as ſuch was ſet apart for his pleaſure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither uſed like a captive, nor had any diſhonourable conditions impoſed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife; and in return I aſſured him, you would be capable of acknowledging ſuch extraordinary goodneſs."—"O Jupiter! (cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven) grant that on this occaſion I may approve myſelf a huſband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of ſo generous a benefactor." Having ſaid this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiſs the chariot he rode in; and when ſhe had purſued him with her eyes, as far as ſhe poſſibly could, ſhe retired.

[x] As ſoon as Cyrus had finiſhed his ſacrifice, giving his officers the neceſſary orders and inſtructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage that is due to the gods, every man went to his poſt. [y] Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals: he eat a little without ſitting down, and cauſed the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who were about him. He took a little wine likewiſe; and poured out a part of it, as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this he

[u] Cyrop. l. vi. p. 169, 170. [x] Ibid. l. vii. p. 170. [y] p. 172.

prayed again to the god of his fathers, deſiring he would pleaſe to be his guide and come to his aſſiſtance: he then mounted his horſe, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was conſidering on which ſide he ſhould direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, *"Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee." And that inſtant he ſet forwards, having Chryſantes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horſe, and Arſamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them above all things to take care of the royal ſtandard, and to advance equally in a line. The ſtandard was a golden eagle at the end of a pike, with its wings ſtretched out; the ſame was ever after uſed by the kings of Perſia. He made his army halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty ſtadias, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within ſight of each other, and the enemies had obſerved how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilſt the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with deſign to incloſe Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every ſide at the ſame time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, becauſe he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, *Jupiter leader and protector*, he left his right wing, promiſing to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

[z] He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the ſoldiers; and he, who on all other occaſions was ſo modeſt and ſo far from the leaſt air of oſtentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and ſpoke as if he was aſſured of victory: "Follow me, comrades, (ſays he,) the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He obſerved, that many of his officers, and even Abradates himſelf, were uneaſy at the motion which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Thoſe troops alarm you (ſays he,) believe me thoſe are the very troops that will be the firſt routed; and to you

[z] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 173—176.

* He had really a God for his guide, but very different from Jupiter.

enemies. Here was an opportunity, ſays Xenophon, of ſeeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his ſoldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they ſaw their leader, run headlong into the thick foreſt of pikes, to reſcue and ſave him. He quickly mounted another horſe, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to ſee ſuch brave men periſh, offered them honourable conditions, if they would ſurrender, letting them know, at the ſame time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no leſs eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they ſtipulated, that they ſhould not be obliged to carry arms againſt Crœſus, in whoſe ſervice they had been engaged. From thence forward they ſerved in the Perſian army with inviolable fidelity.

[d] Xenophon obſerves, that Cyrus gave them the cities of Lariſſa and Cyllene, near Cuma, upon the ſea-coaſt, as alſo other in-land places, which were inhabited by their deſcendants even in his time; and he adds, that theſe places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This obſervation of Xenophon's, as alſo many other in ſeveral parts of his Cyropedia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, ſhows plainly, that he meant that work as a true hiſtory of Cyrus, at leaſt with reſpect to the main ſubſtance of it, and the greateſt part of the facts and tranſactions. This judicious reflection, Monſieur Freret makes upon this paſſage.

[e] The battle laſted till evening. Crœſus retreated as faſt as he could, with his troops to Sardis. The other nations in like manner that very night directed their courſe each to their own country, and made as long marches as they poſſibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten ſomething, and poſted the guards, went to reſt.

In deſcribing this battle I have endeavoured exactly to follow the Greek text of Xenophon, the Latin tranſlation of which is not always faithful. Some perſons of the ſword, to whom I have communicated this deſcription, find a defect in the manner in which Cyrus diſpoſed of his troops in

[d] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 179. [e] Page 180.

order of battle: as he placed no troops to cover his flanks, to ſuſtain his armed chariots, and to oppoſe the two bodies of troops, which Crœſus had detached, to fall upon the flanks of Cyrus's army. It is poſſible ſuch a circumſtance might eſcape Xenophon in deſcribing this battle.

[f] It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Perſian cavalry, which was a new eſtabliſhment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which till his time they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with ſcythes did good ſervice, and the uſe of them was ever afterwards retained among the Perſians. The camels too were not unſerviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them, and obſerves, that in his time they made no other uſe of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is ſufficient to take notice, that in this affair we ſee all the qualities of a great general ſhine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable ſagacity and foreſight in diſcovering and diſconcerting the enemy's meaſures; an infinite exactneſs in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army ſhould be provided with every thing neceſſary, and all his orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his ſoldiers, and to inſpire them with confidence and ardour: in the heat of action, what a ſpirit and activity; what a preſence of mind in giving orders, as occaſion requires; what courage and intrepidity, and at the ſame time what humanity towards the enemy, whoſe valour he reſpects, and whoſe blood he is unwilling to ſhed! We ſhall ſee by-and-by what uſe he made of his victory.

But what appears to me ſtill more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the reſt, is the conſtant care he took, on all occaſions, to pay that homage and worſhip to the Deity, which he thought belonged to him. Doubtleſs the reader has been ſurpriſed to ſee, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in ſight of all his army, makes mention of the gods, offers ſacrifices and

[f] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 180.

libations to them, addreſſes himſelf to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their ſuccour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the hiſtorian, who was alſo a military perſon himſelf, and who thought it no diſhonour to himſelf, or his profeſſion, to relate theſe particular circumſtances. What a ſhame then and reproach would it be to a Chriſtian officer or general, if on a day of battle he ſhould bluſh to appear as religious and devout as a pagan prince; and if the Lord of hoſts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as ſuch, ſhould make a leſs impreſſion upon his mind, than a reſpect for the falſe deities of paganiſm did upon the mind of Cyrus?

As for Crœſus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is ſaid of him in the whole engagement. But that profound ſilence, which Xenophon obſerves in regard to him, ſeems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to underſtand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

[g] But let us return to the camp of the Perſians. It is eaſy to imagine, that Panthea muſt be in the utmoſt affliction and diſtreſs, when the news was brought to her of Abradates's death. Having cauſed his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her ſenſes, with her eyes ſteadfaſtly fixed upon the melancholy object, ſhe thought of nothing but feeding her grief and indulging her miſery with the ſight of that diſmal and bloody ſpectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition ſhe was in, ran immediately to her, ſympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compaſſion, doing all that he poſſibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be ſhown to the brave deceaſed Abradates. But no ſooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, ſtabbed herſelf with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her huſband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very ſpot, and a monument was erected for them, which was ſtanding in the time of Xenophon.

[g] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 184—186.

SECT. VI. *The taking of Sardis, and of Crœsus.*

[h] THE next day in the morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Crœsus did not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces, to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; [i] which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks and already begun to disperse themselves in several places. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army He gave all the citizens to understand, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Crœsus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

[h] Cyrop. l. 1. c. 79—84. [i] L. vii. p. 180.

[k] When Cyrus had given all neceſſary orders concerning the city, he had a particular converſation with the king, of whom he aſked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the anſwers given by the god that preſided there, for whom, it was ſaid, he had always had a great regard. Crœſus firſt acknowledged, that he had juſtly incurred the indignation of that god, for having ſhown a diſtruſt of the truth of his anſwers, and for having put him to the trial by an abſurd and ridiculous queſtion; and then declared, that notwithſtanding all this, he ſtill had no reaſon to complain of him; for that having conſulted him, to know what he ſhould do in order to lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an anſwer, which implied in ſubſtance, that he ſhould enjoy a perfect and laſting happineſs, when he once came to the knowledge of himſelf. "For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myſelf, through the exceſſive praiſes that were laviſhed upon me, to be ſomething very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generaliſſimo of the whole army, and unadviſedly engaged in a war againſt a prince, infinitely my ſuperior in all reſpects. But now that I am inſtructed by my defeat, and begin to know myſelf, I believe I am going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me (for my fate is in your hands) I ſhall certainly be ſo." Cyrus, touched with compaſſion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from ſo great an elevation, and admiring his equanimity under ſuch a reverſe of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindneſs, ſuffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the reſtriction of not having the power to make war; that is to ſay, he diſcharged him (as Crœſus acknowledged himſelf) from all the burdenſome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead a happy life, exempt from all care and diſquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of eſteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counſel, or out of policy, and to be the more ſecure of his perſon.

Herodotus, and other writers after him, relate this ſtory with the addition of ſome very remarkable circumſtances,

[k] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 181—184.

which I think it incumbent on me to mention, notwithſtanding they ſeem to be much more wonderful than true.

[l] I have already obſerved, that the only ſon Crœſus had living was dumb. This young prince, ſeeing a ſoldier, when the city was taken, ready to give the king, whom he did not know, a ſtroke upon the head with his ſcymitar, made ſuch a violent effort and ſtruggle, out of fear and tenderneſs for the life of his father, that he broke the ſtrings of his tongue, and cried out, *Soldier, ſpare the life of Crœſus.*

[m] Crœſus, being a priſoner, was condemned by the conqueror to be burnt alive. Accordingly the funeral pile was prepared, and that unhappy prince, being laid thereon, and juſt upon the point of execution, recollecting the * converſation he had formerly had with Solon, was woefully convinced of the truth of that philoſopher's admonition, and in remembrance thereof cried out aloud three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon!* Cyrus, who with the chief officers of his court was preſent at this ſpectacle, was curious to know why Crœſus pronounced that celebrated philoſopher's name with ſo much vehemence in this extremity. Being told the reaſon, and reflecting upon the uncertain ſtate of all ſublunary things, he was touched with commiſeration at the prince's misfortune, cauſed him to be taken from the pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he lived, with honour and reſpect. †Thus had Solon the glory with one ſingle word to ſave the life of one king, and give a wholeſome leſſon of inſtruction to another.

Two anſwers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœſus to engage in the war, which proved ſo fatal to him. The one was, that he, Crœſus, was to believe himſelf in danger, when the Medes ſhould have a mule to reign over them: the other, that when he ſhould paſs the river Halys, to make war againſt the Medes, he would deſtroy a mighty empire. From the firſt of theſe oracular anſwers he concluded, conſidering the impoſſibility of the thing ſpoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the

[l] Hor. l. i c. 85. [m] Ibid. c. 86—91. Plut. in Solon.

* This converſation is already related, p. 105, 106.

† Και δοξαν εσχεν ο Σολων ενι λογω τον μεν σωσας, τον δε παιδευσας των βασιλεων. PLUT.

ſecond he conceived hopes of ſubverting the empire of the Medes. When he found how things happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he diſpatched meſſengers to Delphos, in order to make a preſent to the god in his name of a golden chain, and at the ſame time to reproach him for having ſo baſely deceived him by his oracles, notwithſtanding all the vaſt preſents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to juſtify his anſwers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Perſian by the father's ſide, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœſus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by ſuch falſe and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, impoſed upon mankind, in thoſe times of ignorance and darkneſs, always giving his anſwers to thoſe that conſulted him, in ſuch ambiguous and doubtful terms, that let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

[n] When the people of Ionia and Æolia were apprized of Cyrus's having ſubdued the Lydians, they ſent ambaſſadors to him at Sardis, to deſire he would receive them as his ſubjects, upon the ſame conditions he had granted the Lydians. Cyrus, who before his victory had ſolicited them in vain to embrace his party, and was then in a condition to compel him to it by force, anſwered them only by a fable of a fiſherman, who having played upon his pipe, in order to make the fiſh come to him, in vain, found there was no way to catch them, but by throwing his net into the water. Failing in their hopes of ſucceeding this way, they applied to the Lacedæmonians, and demanded their ſuccour. The Lacedæmonians thereupon ſent deputies to Cyrus, to let him know, that they would not ſuffer him to undertake any thing againſt the Greeks. Cyrus only laughed at ſuch a meſſage, and advertiſed them in his turn to take care, and put themſelves into a condition to defend their own territories.

The nations of the iſles had nothing to apprehend from Cyrus, becauſe he had not yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, nor had the Perſians any ſhipping.

[n] Herod. l. i. c. 141, 152, 153.

ARTICLE II.

The Hiſtory of the beſieging and taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

CYRUS ſtaid in Aſia Minor, till he had entirely reduced all the nations that inhabited it into ſubjection, from the Ægean Sea to the river Euphrates. From thence he proceeded to Syria and Arabia, which he alſo ſubjected. After which he entered into Aſſyria, and advanced towards Babylon, the only city of the eaſt that ſtood out againſt him.

The ſiege of this important place was no eaſy enterpriſe. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inacceſſible, without mentioning the immenſe number of people within them for their defence. Beſides, the city was ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions for twenty years. However, theſe difficulties did not diſcourage Cyrus from purſuing his deſign. But deſpairing to take the place by ſtorm, or aſſault, he made them believe his deſign was to reduce it by famine. To which end he cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch; and that his troops might not be over fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and aſſigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The beſieged thinking themſelves out of all danger, by reaſon of their ramparts and magazines, inſulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himſelf, as ſo much unprofitable labour.

SECT. I. *Predictions of the principal Circumſtances relating to the Siege and taking of Babylon, as they are ſet down in different places of the holy Scriptures.*

AS the taking of Babylon is one of the greateſt events in ancient hiſtory, and as the principal circumſtances, with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy ſcriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers ſay of it, briefly to put together what we find upon the ſame

*Her. l. i. c. 177. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 186—188.

head in the ſacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accompliſhment of them together.

I. *The Prediction of the Jewiſh Captivity at Babylon, and the Time of its Duration.*

God Almighty was pleaſed not only to cauſe the captivity, which his people were to ſuffer at Babylon, to be foretold a long time before it come to paſs, but likewiſe to ſet down the exact number of years it was to laſt. The term he fixed for it was ſeventy years, after which he promiſed he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal deſtruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And theſe nations ſhall ſerve the king of Babylon ſeventy years." Jer. xxv. 11.

II. *The Cauſes of God's Wrath againſt Babylon.*

That which kindled the wrath of God againſt Babylon was, 1. Her inſupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews: and 3. The ſacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. *Her pride.* *She believed herſelf to be invincible. She ſays in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I ſhall remain ſo for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either ſubject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I ſhall never know either barrenneſs, or widowhood. Eternity is writ in my deſtiny, according to the obſervation of all thoſe that have conſulted the ſtars to know it.

2. *Her cruelty.* It is God himſelf that complains of it. †I was willing (ſays he) to puniſh my people in ſuch a manner, as a father chaſtiſeth his children. I ſent them for a time into baniſhment at Babylon, with a deſign to recal them, as ſoon as they were become more thankful and more

* *Dixiſti, In ſempiternum ero domina—Dicis in corde tuo, Ego ſum, et non eſt præter me amplius: non ſedebo vidua, et ignorabo ſterilitatem.* Iſa. xlvii. 7, 8.

† *Iratus ſum ſuper populum meum, et dedi eos in manu tua, Babylon. Non poſuiſti eis miſericordiam: ſuper ſenem aggravaſti jugum tuum valde. Veniet ſuper te malum.* Iſa. xlvii. 6, 7.

faithful. But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chaſtiſement into ſuch a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their deſign has been to deſtroy; mine was to ſave. The baniſhment they have turned into a ſevere bondage and captivity, and have ſhown no compaſſion or regard either to age, infirmity, or virtue.

3. *The ſacrilegious impiety of her king.* To the pride and cruelty of his predeceſſors, Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himſelf. He did not only prefer his falſe divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himſelf likewiſe to have vanquiſhed his power, becauſe he was poſſeſſed of the veſſels which had belonged to his worſhip; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply thoſe holy veſſels to profane uſes. This was the provoking circumſtance, that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

III. *The Decree pronounced againſt Babylon. Prediction of the Calamities that were to fall upon her, and of her utter Deſtruction.*

[p] *Make bright the arrows, gather the ſhields*; it is the prophet that ſpeaks to the Medes and Perſians. *The Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is againſt Babylon to deſtroy it, becauſe it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple.*

" [q] Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land deſolate. [r] Behold, I will puniſh the king of Babylon and his land, as I have puniſhed the king of * Aſſyria.

" [s] Shoot againſt her round about. Recompenſe her according to her work; according to all that ſhe hath done, do unto her; and ſpare ye not her young men; deſtroy ye utterly all her hoſt. [t] Every one that is found ſhall be thruſt through, and every one that is joined unto them ſhall fall by the ſword. Their children alſo ſhall be daſhed to pieces before their eyes, their houſes ſhall be ſpoiled, and

[p] Jer. li. 11. [q] Iſa. xiii. 6, 9. [r] Jer. l. 18.
[s] Jer. l. 15, 29. and li. 3. [t] Iſa. xiii. 15, 18.

* In the deſtruction of Nineveh.

their wives raviſhed. Behold, I will ſtir up the Medes againſt them, who ſhall not regard ſilver; and as for gold, they ſhall not delight in it. Their bows alſo ſhall daſh the young men to pieces, and they ſhall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye ſhall not ſpare children. [u] O daughter of Babylon, who art to be deſtroyed, happy ſhall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou haſt ſerved us. Happy ſhall he be, that taketh thy children, and daſheth them againſt the ſtones.

" [x] And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It ſhall never be inhabited; neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither ſhall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there; but wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there: And the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces. [y] I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern and pools of water; and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, Surely as I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed ſo ſhall it ſtand."

IV. *Cyrus called to deſtroy Babylon, and to deliver the Jews.*

Cyrus, whom the Divine Providence was to make uſe of, as an inſtrument for the executing of his deſigns of goodneſs and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the ſcripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be ſurpriſed at the prodigious rapidity of his conqueſts, God was pleaſed to declare, in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himſelf would be his guide; that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would ſubdue all the princes of the earth before him. " [z] Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden

[u] Pſ. cxxxvii. 8, 9. [x] Iſa. xiii. 19, 22. [y] Ibid. xiv. 23, 24.
[z] Iſa. xlv. 1—4.

to ſubdue nations before him; and I will looſe the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee and make the crooked places ſtraight. I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael: For Jacob my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me."

V. *God gives the Signal to the Commanders, and to the Troops, to march againſt Babylon.*

[a] *Lift ye up a banner*, ſaith the Lord, *upon the high mountain*, that it may be ſeen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. *Exalt the voice unto them* that are able to hear you. *Shake the hand*, and make a ſign, to haſten the march of thoſe that are too far off to diſtinguiſh another ſort of command. Let the officers of the troops *go into the gates of the nobles*, into the pavilions of their kings. Let the people of each nation range themſelves around their ſovereign, and make haſte to offer him their ſervice, and to go unto his tent, which is already ſet up.

[b] *I have commanded my ſanctified ones*; I have given my orders to thoſe whom I have ſanctified for the execution of my deſigns; and theſe kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made ſeveral nations ſubject to them, in order to accompliſh my deſigns by their miniſtration. *I have called my mighty ones* [c] *for mine anger.* I have cauſed the mighty warriors to come up, to be the miniſters and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wiſdom, and the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. If they are invincible, it is becauſe they ſerve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, becauſe they

[a] Iſa. xiii. 2. [b] Ibid. xiii. 3. [c] Lat. verſ. *in ira mea.* Heb. *in iram meam.*

are the miniſters of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, *they rejoice in my highneſs*. The honour they have of being under my command, and of being ſent to deliver a people that I love, inſpires them with ardor and cheerfulneſs: behold, they triumph already in a certain aſſurance of victory.

The prophet, a witneſs in ſpirit of the orders that are juſt given, is aſtoniſhed at the ſwiftneſs, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, "[d] The noiſe of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noiſe of the kingdoms of nations gathered together. The Lord of hoſts muſtereth the hoſt of the battle: [e] They come from a far country, from the end of heaven," where the voice of God, their maſter and ſovereign, has reached their ears.

But it is not with the ſight of a formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now ſtruck; it is God himſelf that I behold; all the reſt are but his retinue, and the miniſters of juſtice. "It is even the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to deſtroy the whole land."

[f] *A grievous viſion is declared unto me:* the * impious Baltazar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiouſly; *the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherouſly, and the ſpoiler ſpoileth.* To put an end to theſe exceſſes, go up, thou prince of Perſia; *go up, O Elam:* and thou prince of the Medes, beſiege thou Babylon: *Beſiege, O Media; all the ſighing, which ſhe was the cauſe of, have I made to ceaſe.* That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

VI. *Particular Circumſtances ſet down, relating to the Siege and the taking of Babylon.*

There is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to raiſe a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to obſerve with what exactneſs he reveals to his prophets the principal circumſtances

[d] Iſa. xiii. 4. [e] Ibid. xxiii. 5. [f] Iſa. xxi. 2.

* This is the ſenſe of the Hebrew word.

of the beſieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but ſeveral ages, before it happened.

1. We have already ſeen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to conſiſt of Medes and Perſians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city ſhall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that ſhe did not at all expect: "[g] Therefore ſhall evil come upon thee; thou ſhalt not know from whence it riſeth." She ſhall be all on a ſudden and in an inſtant overwhelmed with calamities, which ſhe did not foreſee: "[h] Deſolation ſhall come upon thee ſuddenly, which thou ſhalt not know." In a word, ſhe ſhall be taken, as it were in a net, or a gin, before ſhe perceiveth that any ſnares have been laid for her: "[i] I have laid a ſnare for thee, and thou art alſo taken, O Babylon, and thou waſt not aware."

3. Babylon reckoned the Euphrates alone was ſufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being ſo advantageouſly ſituated and defended by ſo deep a river: "[k] O thou that dwelleſt upon many waters:" It is God himſelf who points out Babylon under that deſcription. And yet that very river Euphrates ſhall be the cauſe of her ruin. Cyrus, by a ſtratagem (of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it ſince) ſhall divert the courſe of that river, ſhall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himſelf a paſſage into the city: "[l] I will dry up her ſea, and make her ſprings dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they ſhall be dried up." Cyrus ſhall take poſſeſſion of the keys of the river; and the waters which rendered Babylon inacceſſible, ſhall be dried up, as if they had been conſumed by fire: "[m] The paſſages are ſtopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire."

4. She ſhall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feaſting and rejoicing, even whilſt her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: "[n] In her heat I will make their feaſts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not wake ſaith the Lord." It is remarkable, that it is God who does

[g] Iſa. xlvii. 11. [h] Ibid. [i] Jer. l. 24. [k] Jer. li. 13.
[l] Ib. l. 38. and li. 36. [m] Ib. li. 32. [n] Ib. l. 39.

all this, who lays a ſnare for Babylon; [o] *I have laid a ſnare for thee*; who drieth up the waters of the river; *I will dry up her ſea*; and who brings that drunkenneſs and drowſineſs upon her princes; [p] *I will make drunk her princes.*

5. The king ſhall be ſeized in an inſtant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: [q] "My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold on me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was diſmayed at the ſeeing of it: My heart panted, fearfulneſs affrighted me: The night of my pleaſure hath he turned into fear unto me." This is the condition Baltazar was in, when in the middle of the entertainment he ſaw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote ſuch characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more eſpecially when Daniel declared to him, that thoſe characters imported the ſentence of his death, "[r] Then," ſays the ſcripture, "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, ſo that the joints of his loins were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt another." The terror, aſtoniſhment, fainting and trembling of Baltazar are here deſcribed and expreſſed in the ſame manner by the prophet who was an eye-witneſs of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Iſaiah muſt have had an extraordinary meaſure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the deſcription of Baltazar's conſternation, the following words: "[s] Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink." The prophet foreſees, that Baltazar, though terribly diſmayed and confounded at firſt, ſhall recover his ſpirit and courage again, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the perſuaſion of the queen, his mother, who repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of being affected with ſuch unmanly fears, and unneceſſary alarms: "[t] Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed. They exhorted him therefore to make himſelf eaſy, to ſatisfy himſelf with giving proper orders, and with the aſſurance of being advertiſed of every

[o] Ut ſupra. [p] Jer. li. 57. [q] Iſa. xxi. 3, 4.
[r] Dan. v. 6. [s] Iſa. xxi. 5. [t] Dan. v. 10.

thing by the vigilance of the centinels; to order the reſt of the ſupper to be ſerved, as if nothing had happened; and to recal that gaiety and joy which his exceſſive fears had baniſhed from the table; "Prepare the table; watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."

6. But at the ſame time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewiſe giving his: "[u] Ariſe ye princes, and anoint the ſhield." It is God himſelf that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine and buried in ſleep.

Iſaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumſtances concerning the taking of Babylon. The firſt is, that the troops with which it is filled, ſhall not keep their ground, or ſtand firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatſoever; that they ſhall deſert and leave one another without thinking of any thing but making their eſcape; that in running away they ſhall diſperſe themſelves, and take different roads, juſt as a flock of deer, or of ſheep, is diſperſed and ſcattered, when they are affrighted: "[x] And it ſhall be as a chaſed roe, and as a ſheep that no man taketh up." The ſecond circumſtance is that the greateſt part of thoſe troops, though they were in the Babylonian ſervice and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they ſhall return into the provinces, from whence they came, without being purſued by the conquerors; becauſe the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: "[y] They ſhall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land."

8. Laſtly, not to mention the dreadful ſlaughter, which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be ſhown either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is ſtill within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the laſt circumſtance, I ſay, the prophet foretels, is the death of the king himſelf, whoſe body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are deſcribed in ſcripture, after a manner equally terrible and inſtructive to all princes. "[z] But thou art caſt out of thy grave, like an

[u] Iſa. xxi. v. 4. [x] Iſa. xiii. 14. [y] Ibid. [z] Iſa. xiv. 19, 20.

abominable branch. Thou ſhalt not be joined with them (thy anceſtors) in burial, becauſe thou haſt deſtroyed thy land and ſlain thy people." That king is juſtly forgot, who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and deſtroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place amongſt them. He was like unto the wild beaſts of the field, and like them he ſhall be buried: and ſince he had no ſentiments of humanity himſelf, he deſerves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the ſentence, which God himſelf pronounced againſt Baltazar: and the malediction extends itſelf to his children who were looked upon as his aſſociates in the throne, and as the ſource of a long poſterity and ſucceſſion of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleaſing proſpects and ideas of their future grandeur. "[a] Prepare ſlaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not riſe nor poſſeſs the land. For I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and ſon and nephew, ſaith the Lord."

SECT. II. *A Deſcription of the taking of Babylon.*

AFTER having ſeen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to impious Babylon; it is now time to come to the completion and accompliſhment of thoſe prophecies; and in order thereto we muſt aſſume the thread of our hiſtory, with reſpect to the taking of that city.

As ſoon as Cyrus ſaw the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finiſhed, he began to think ſeriouſly upon the execution of his vaſt deſign, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence ſoon furniſhed him with as fit an opportunity for this purpoſe as he could deſire. He was informed, that in the city, on ſuch a day, a great feſtival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occaſion of that ſolemnity, were accuſtomed to paſs the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

[a] Iſaiah xiv. 21, 22.

[b] Baltazar himſelf was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and ſilver veſſels, which had been taken from the temple of Jeruſalem, to be brought out; and, as an inſult upon the God of Iſrael, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of thoſe ſacred veſſels. God, who was provoked at ſuch inſolence and impiety, in the very action made him ſenſible, who it was that he affronted, by a ſudden apparition of a hand writing certain characters upon a wall. The king, terribly ſurpriſed and frighted at this viſion, immediately ſent for all his wiſe men, his diviners, and aſtrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the * characters. It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Iſaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that ſhe ſhould be overwhelmed with calamities which ſhe did not expect, adds, "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy ſorceries. Let now the aſtrologers, the ſtar-gazers, the monthly prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from theſe things that ſhall come upon thee." Iſa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother (Nitocris, a princeſs of great merit) coming upon the noiſe of this prodigy into the banquetting-room, endeavoured to compoſe the ſpirit of the king, her ſon, adviſing him to ſend for Daniel, with whoſe abilities in ſuch matters ſhe was well acquainted, and whom ſhe had always employed in the government of the ſtate.

Daniel was therefore immediately ſent for, and ſpoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner, in which God had puniſhed the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the † crying abuſe he made of his power, when he

[b] Dan. v. 1—29.

* The reaſon why they could not read this ſentence was, that it was written in Hebrew letters, which are now called the Samaritan characters, and which the Babylonians did not underſtand.

† Whom he would he ſlew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he ſet up, and whom he would he put down. DAN. v. 19.

acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himſelf maſter to exalt and to abaſe, to inflict deſtruction and death whereſoever he would, only becauſe ſuch was his will and pleaſure. "And thou his ſon," ſays he to the king, "haſt not humbled thine heart, though thou knoweſt all this, but haſt lifted up thyſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven; and they have brought the veſſels of his houſe before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou haſt praiſed the gods of ſilver and gold, of braſs, iron, wood, and ſtone, which ſee not, nor hear, nor know: and the God, in whoſe hand thy breath is, and whoſe are all thy ways, haſt thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand ſent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, *MENE, TEKEL, [c]UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finiſhed it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Perſians." This interpretation, one would think, ſhould have enhanced the king's trouble; but ſome way or other they found means to diſpel his fears, and make him eaſy; probably upon a perſuaſion, that the calamity was not denounced as preſent or immediate, and that time might furniſh them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of diſturbing the general joy of the preſent feſtival, they put off the diſcuſſion of ſerious matters to another time, and ſat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revelling to a very late hour.

[d]Cyrus in the mean time, well informed of the confuſion that was generally occaſioned by this feſtival, both in the palace and the city, had poſted a part of his troops on that ſide where the river entered into the city, and another part on that ſide where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as ſoon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all neceſſary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by repreſenting to them, that he marched

[c] Or PERES. [d] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 189—192.

* Theſe three words ſignify number, weight, diviſion.

under the conduct of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both ſides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obſtacle. The inviſible guide, who had promiſed to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and diſorder of that riotous night ſerve to the leaving open of the gates of braſs, which were made to ſhut up the deſcents from the keys to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were ſufficient to have defeated the whole enterpriſe. Thus did theſe two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any oppoſition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, ſurpriſed the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noiſe it was they heard without, the ſoldiers ruſhed in, and quickly made themſelves maſters of it. And meeting the king, who came up to them, ſword in hand, at the head of thoſe that were in the way to ſuccour him, they killed him, and put all thoſe that attended him to the ſword. The firſt thing the conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the gods for having at laſt puniſhed that impious king. Theſe words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they ſo perfectly agree with what the ſcriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 538. The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nebuchodonoſor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city aboliſhed, juſt fifty years after ſhe had deſtroyed the city of Jeruſalem and her temple. And herein were accompliſhed thoſe predictions, which the prophets Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced againſt her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is ſtill one more, the moſt important, and the moſt incredible of them

all, and yet the ſcripture has ſet it down in the ſtrongeſt terms, and marked it out with the greateſt exactneſs: a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points; the proof of which ſtill actually ſubſiſts, is the moſt eaſy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be conteſted. What I mean is the prediction of ſo total and abſolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the leaſt remains or footſteps ſhould be left of it. I think it may not be improper to give an account of the perfect accompliſhment of this famous prophecy, before we proceed to ſpeak of what followed the taking of Babylon.

SECT. III. *The Completion of the Prophecy which foretold the total Ruin and Deſtruction of Babylon.*

THIS prediction we find recorded in ſeveral of the prophets, but particularly in Iſaiah, in the xiiith chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verſes, and in the 23d and 24th verſes of the xvith chapter. I have already inſerted it at large, page 173, &c. It is there declared, that Babylon ſhould be utterly deſtroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that ſhe ſhall be no more inhabited; that ſhe ſhall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs ſhall not ſo much as ſet up their tents there; that neither herdſmen, nor ſhepherd, ſhall come thither even to reſt his herd or his flock; that it ſhall become a dwelling-place for the wild beaſts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it ſtood ſhall be covered over with a marſh, or a fen, ſo that no mark or footſtep ſhall be left to ſee where Babylon had been. It is God himſelf who pronounced this ſentence, and it is for the ſervice of religion, to ſhow how exactly every article of it has been ſucceſſively accompliſhed.

I. In the firſt place, Babylon ceaſed to be a royal city, the kings of Perſia chooſing to reſide elſewhere. They delighted more in Shuſan, Ecbatana, Perſepolis, or any other place; and did themſelves deſtroy a good part of Babylon.

II. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who ſucceeded the Perſians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embelliſhments, or even repara- A. M. 3880.

tions in it, but that moreover they built * Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpoſe to draw away its inhabitants, and cauſe it to be deſerted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold; "It ſhall not be inhabited." Its own maſters endeavour to depopulate it.

III. The new kings of Perſia, who afterwards became maſters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building † Cteſiphon, which carried away all the remainder of the inhabitants; ſo that from the time the anathema was pronounced againſt the city, it ſeems as if thoſe very perſons, that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies; as if they all had thought it their duty to reduce her to a ſtate of ſolitude, by indirect means though, and without uſing any violence; that it might the more manifeſtly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her deſtruction.

A.C. 96. IV. She was ſo totally forſaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was ſhe reduced at the time when ‡ Pauſanias wrote his remarks upon Greece. *Illa autem Babylon, omnium quas unquam ſol aſpexit urbium maxima, jam prater muros nihil habit reliqui.* PAUS. in Arcad. p. 509.

V. The kings of Perſia finding the place deſerted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beaſts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling place for ravenous beaſts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals that flee before him. Inſtead of citizens, ſhe was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild aſſes. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, ſavage, deadly, creatures that hate the light, and delight in darkneſs. "[h] Wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and dragons ſhall dwell in their pleaſant palaces."

[h] Iſa. xiii. 21, 22.

* *Partem urbis Perſiæ diruerunt, partem tempus conſumpſit, et Macedonum negligentia; maxime poſtquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit, ſtadiis tantum trecentis a Babylone diſſitam,* STRAB. l. xvi. p. 38.

In ſolitudinem rediit exhauſta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonageſimum (or *quadrageſimum*) *lapidem.* PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.

† *Pro illa Seleuciam et Cteſiphontem urbes Perſarum inclitas fecerunt.* HIERON. in cap. xiii. Iſa.

‡ He wrote in the name of Antoninus, ſucceſſor to Adrian.

St. Jerom has tranſmitted to us the following valuable remark, which he had from a Perſian monk, that had himſelf ſeen what he related to him. *Didicimus a quodam fratere Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hieroſolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias eſſe in Babylone, et omnis generis beſtias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.* In cap. Iſa. xiii. 22. A. C. 400.

VI. But it was ſtill too much that the walls of Babylon were ſtanding. At length they fell down in ſeveral places, and were never repaired. Various accidents deſtroyed the remainder. The animals which ſerved for pleaſure to the Perſian kings, abandoned the place: ſerpents and ſcorpions remained, ſo that it became a dreadful place for perſons that ſhould have the curioſity to viſit, or ſearch after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that uſed to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its courſe another way, ſo that in * Theodoret's time there was but a very little ſtream of water left, which run acroſs the ruins, and not meeting with a deſcent or free paſſage, neceſſarily degenerated into a marſh.

[i] In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reaſon of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; theſe outlets, being ill-ſtopped up, had occaſioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, deſigning to fix the ſeat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually ſet his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who had declared, he would deſtroy even to the very remains and footſteps of Babylon, [[k] *I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant*] defeated this enterpriſe by the death of Alexander, which happened ſoon after. It is eaſy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to ſuch a degree as we have ſeen, its river was converted into an inacceſſible pool, which covered the very place

[i] Arrian de exped. Alex. l. viii. [k] Iſa. xiv. 22.

* *Euphrates quondam urbem ipſam mediam dividebat: nunc autem fluvius converſus eſt in aliam viam, et per rudera minimus aquarum meatus fluit.* Theodor. in cap. l. Jerem. ver. 38 and 39.

where that impious city had ſtood, as Iſaiah had foretold: "[l] I will make it pools of water." And this was neceſſary, leſt the place where Babylon had ſtood, ſhould be diſcovered hereafter by the courſe of the Euphrates.

VII. By means of all theſe changes Babylon became an utter deſert, and all the country round fell into the ſame ſtate of deſolation and horror; ſo that the moſt able *geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it ſtood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; "[m] I will make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of hoſts." I myſelf, ſaith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to ſee if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jeruſalem. I will thoroughly ſweep the place where it ſtood, and will clear it ſo effectually, by defacing every footſtep of the city, that no perſon ſhall be able to preſerve the memory of the place choſen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have aboliſhed. "I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of hoſts."

VIII. God was not ſatisfied with cauſing all theſe alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater aſſurance of their certainty, thought fit to ſeal the prediction of them by an oath. "[n] The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, Surely as I have thought ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand." But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we muſt not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced againſt the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jeruſalem ſhall be ſeparated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The ſcriptures, that have foretold it, ſhall ſubſiſt to the day of its execution. The ſentence is written therein, and depoſited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. "The Lord of hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, As I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand."

[l] Iſa. xiv. 23. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid. 24.

* *Nunc omnino deſtructa, ita ut vix ejus ſuperſint rudera.* BAUDRAN.

What I have ſaid of this prophecy concerning Babylon is almoſt entirely taken out of an excellent treatiſe upon Iſaiah, which is ſtill in manuſcript.

SECT. IV. *What followed upon the taking of Babylon.*

[o]CYRUS entered the city after the manner we have deſcribed, put all to the ſword that were found in the ſtreets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to ſhut themſelves up in their houſes. The next morning, by break of day, the garriſon, which kept the citadel, being apprized that the city was taken, and their king killed, ſurrendered themſelves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, and without any reſiſtance, find himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt place in the world.

The firſt thing he did was to thank the gods for the ſucceſs they had given him. And then having aſſembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his perſon, and diſtributed rewards to his whole army. [p]After which he repreſented to them, that the only means of preſerving what they had acquired was to perſevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themſelves up to idleneſs and pleaſure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be ſhameful to ſuffer themſelves to be overthrown by the allurements of pleaſure; that, in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongſt the Perſians at Babylon the ſame diſcipline they had obſerved in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This, ſays he, will neceſſarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in ſetting them good examples: nor will it be eaſy for them to be corrupted, when they ſhall neither hear nor ſee any thing amongſt us, but what excites them to virtue, and ſhall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exerciſes.

[q]Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his

[o] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 192. [p] Ibid. l. vii. p. 179—200. [q] Ibid. 202.

government to different perſons, according to their various talents and qualifications: but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, miniſters and ambaſſadors, he reſerved to himſelf, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the ſucceſs of his affairs, and the happineſs and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to ſtudy the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper ſphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the ſtate move in ſo regular a manner, that every part ſhould have a dependance upon, and mutually contribute to ſupport each other; and that the ſtrength of the one ſhould not exert itſelf but for the benefit and advantage of the reſt. Each perſon had his diſtrict, and his particular ſphere of buſineſs, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and ſo on, till by theſe different degrees and regular ſubordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himſelf, who did not ſtand idle in the midſt of all this motion, but was as it were the ſoul to the body of the ſtate; which by this means he governed with as much eaſe, as a father governs his private family.

[r] When he afterwards ſent governors, called *ſatrapæ*, into the provinces under his ſubjection, he would not ſuffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the ſecurity of the country, to depend upon thoſe provincial governors, or to be ſubject to any one but him; that if any of the *ſatrapæ*, elate with his power or riches, made an ill uſe of his authority, there might be found witneſſes and cenſors of his mal-adminiſtration within his own government. For there was nothing he ſo carefully avoided, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reaſon to repent his having exalted one perſon ſo high, that all others are thereby abaſed and kept under.

Thus Cyrus eſtabliſhed a wonderful order with reſpect to his military affairs, his treaſury, and civil government. [s] In all the provinces he had perſons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that paſſed. He

[r] Cyrop. lib. viii. p. 229. [s] Ibid. p. 209.

made it his principal care to honour and reward all ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their merit, or were eminent in any reſpect whatever. He infinitely preferred clemency to martial courage, becauſe the latter is often the cauſe of ruin and deſolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficent and uſeful. [t] He was ſenſible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preſerving of good manners, but, in his opinion, the prince by his example was to be a living law to his people: [u] nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unleſs he was more wiſe and virtuous than thoſe he governed: [x] he was alſo perſuaded, that the ſureſt means for a prince to gain the reſpect of his courtiers, and of ſuch as approached his perſon, was to have ſo much regard for them, as never to do or to ſay any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

[y] Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal, nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleaſure of diſtributing them to others. "[z] I have prodigious riches," ſays he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may aſſure yourſelves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end ſhould I heap up wealth? For my own uſe, and to conſume it myſelf? That would be impoſſible, if I deſired it. No: the chief end I aim at is to have it in my power to reward thoſe who ſerve the public faithfully, and to ſuccour and relieve thoſe that will acquaint me with their wants and neceſſities."

[a] Crœſus one day repreſented to him, that by continual giving he would at laſt make himſelf poor, whereas he might have amaſſed infinite treaſures, and been the richeſt prince in the world. "And to what ſum," replied Cyrus, "do you think thoſe treaſures might have amounted?" Crœſus named a certain ſum which was immenſely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a little note to be writ to the lords of his court, in which it was ſignified to them that he had occaſion for money. Immediately a much larger ſum was brought to him, than Crœſus had mentioned. "Look here," ſays

[t] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 204. [u] Pag. 205. [x] Pag. 204.
[y] Pag. 209. [z] Pag. 225. [a] Pag. 210.

Cyrus to him, "here are my treaſures; the cheſts I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my ſubjects."

But as much as he eſteemed liberality, he ſtill laid a greater ſtreſs upon kindneſs and condeſcenſion, affability and humanity, which are qualities ſtill more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it ſo ſurpriſing or extraordinary as to deſcend in a manner from the throne, and to put himſelf upon a level with his ſubjects.

[b] But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worſhip of the gods, and a reſpect for religion. Upon this therefore he thought himſelf obliged to beſtow his firſt and principal care, as ſoon as he became more at leiſure, and more maſter of his time, by the conqueſt of Babylon. He began by eſtabliſhing a number of Magi, to ſing daily a morning ſervice of praiſe to the honour of the gods, and to offer ſacrifices; which was always practiſed amongſt them in ſucceeding ages.

The prince's diſpoſition quickly became, as is uſual, the prevailing diſpoſition among his people; and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Perſians, who ſaw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and ſeries of proſperity and ſucceſs, believed, that by ſerving the gods, as he did, they ſhould be bleſſed with the like happineſs and proſperity: beſides they were ſenſible, it was the ſureſt way to pleaſe their prince, and to make their court to him ſucceſsfully. Cyrus on the other hand was extremely glad to find them have ſuch ſentiments of religion, being convinced, that whoſoever ſincerely fears and worſhips God, will at the ſame time be faithful to his king, and preſerve an inviolable attachment to his perſon, and to the welfare of the ſtate. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

[c] Cyrus being reſolved to ſettle his chief reſidence at Babylon, a powerful city, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it neceſſary to be more cautious than he had been hitherto, in regard to the ſafety of his

[b] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 204. [c] Pag. 196.

perſon. The moſt dangerous hours for princes within their palaces, and the moſt likely for treaſonable attempts upon their lives, are thoſe of bathing, eating, and ſleeping. He determined therefore to ſuffer no body to be near him at thoſe times, but ſuch perſons on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely rely; and on this account he thought eunuchs preferable to all others; becauſe, as they had neither wives, children, nor families, and beſides were generally deſpiſed on account of the meanneſs of their birth, and the ignominy of their condition, they were engaged by all ſorts of reaſons to an entire attachment to their maſter, on whoſe life their whole fortune depended, and on whoſe account alone it was, that they were of any conſideration. Cyrus therefore filled all the offices of his houſehold with eunuchs; and as this had been the practice before his time, from thenceforth it became the general cuſtom of all the eaſtern countries.

It is well known, that in after-times this uſage prevailed alſo amongſt the Roman emperors, with whom the eunuchs were the reigning all-powerful favourites; nor is it any wonder. It was very natural for the prince, after having confided his perſon to their care, and experienced their zeal, fidelity and merit, to entruſt them alſo with the management of their affairs, and by degrees to give himſelf up to them. Theſe expert courtiers knew how to improve thoſe favourable moments, when ſovereigns, delivered from the weight of their dignity, which is a burden to them, become men, and familiarize themſelves with their officers. And by this policy having got poſſeſſion of their maſters minds and confidence, they came to be in great credit at court, to have the adminiſtration of public affairs, and the diſpoſal of employments and honours, and to arrive themſelves at the higheſt offices and dignities in the ſtate.

[d] But the good emperors, ſuch as Alexander Severus, had the eunuchs in abhorrence, looking upon them as creatures ſold and attached only to their fortune, and enemies by principle to the public good; perſons, whoſe whole view was to get poſſeſſion of the prince's mind, to keep all perſons of merit from him, to conceal affairs as much as poſſible from his knowledge, and to keep him ſhut up and impriſoned in

[d] Lamprid. in vita Alex. Sever.

a manner, within the narrow circle of three or four officers, who had an entire aſcendant and dominion over him: *Claudentes principem ſuum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid ſciat.*

[e] When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he reſolved to ſhow himſelf publicly to his people, and to his new-conquered ſubjects, in a ſolemn auguſt ceremony of religion, by marching in a pompous cavalcade to the places conſecrated to the gods, in order to offer ſacrifices to them. In this proceſſion Cyrus thought fit to diſplay all poſſible ſplendor and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the firſt time that prince ever aimed at procuring reſpect to himſelf, not only by the attractions of virtue (ſays the hiſtorian) but by ſuch an external pomp, as was proper to attract the multitude, and worked like a * charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the ſuperior officers of the Perſians and allies to attend him, and gave each of them a ſuit of clothes after the Median faſhion, that is to ſay, long garments which hung down to the feet. Theſe clothes were of various colours, all of the fineſt and brighteſt dye, and richly embroidered with gold and ſilver. Beſides thoſe that were for themſelves, he gave them others, very ſplendid alſo, but leſs coſtly, to preſent to the ſubaltern officers. It was on this occaſion the Perſians firſt dreſſed themſelves after the manner of the Medes, [f] and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company aſſembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thouſand of the guards, drawn up four deep, placed themſelves in front of the palace, and two thouſand on the two ſides of it ranged in the ſame order. The whole cavalry were alſo drawn out, the Perſians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one ſide, and half on the other. As ſoon as the palace gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquiſite beauty were led out by four and four: theſe were

[e] Cyrop. l. viii p. 213. 220. [f] Pag. 206.

* Αλλα χ καταγοητευειν φεσθ χρηται αυτας.

to be ſacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies preſcribed by the Magi. Next followed the horſes, that were to be ſacrificed to the ſun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a ſecond chariot of the ſame colour, and adorned in the ſame manner, to be offered to the ſun. After theſe followed a third, the horſes of which were capariſoned with ſcarlet houſings. Behind came the men, who carried the ſacred fire in a large hearth. When all theſe were on their march, Cyrus himſelf began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him ſat his maſter of the horſe, who was of a comely ſtature, but not ſo tall as Cyrus, for which reaſon the ſtature of the latter appeared ſtill more advantageouſly. As ſoon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell proſtrate before him, and worſhipped him; whether it was, that certain perſons appointed on purpoſe, and placed at proper diſtances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being ſtruck with the appearance of ſo much pomp and magnificence, and with ſo many awful circumſtances of majeſty and ſplendor. The Perſians had never proſtrated themſelves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occaſion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thouſand guards began to march: the other two thouſand moved at the ſame time, and placed themſelves on each ſide the chariot. The eunuchs, or great officers of the king's houſehold, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon ſtately horſes, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horſes of the king's ſtable, each of them having embroidered furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Perſian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each conſiſting of ten thouſand men; then the Median horſe, and after thoſe the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four

in a breaſt, marched in the rear, and cloſed the proceſſion.

When they came to the fields conſecrated to the gods, they offered their ſacrifices firſt to Jupiter, and then to the Sun. To the honour of the firſt were burnt bulls, and to the honour of the ſecond horſes. They likewiſe ſacrificed ſome victims to the Earth, according to the appointment of the magi; then to the demi-gods, the patrons and protectors of * Syria.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and ſolemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it ſhould conclude with games, and horſe and chariot races. The place where they were was large and ſpacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about the quantity of five † ſtadia, and propoſed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter ſeparately, and among themſelves. He himſelf won the prize in the Perſian horſe-races, for nobody was ſo complete a horſeman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one againſt another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongſt the Perſians, except only, that it was not always attended with ſacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the ſame order.

[s] Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horſe-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well ſtrangers as Medes and Perſians. They had never yet ſeen any thing of the kind ſo ſumptuous and magnificent. At the concluſion of the feaſt he made every one a noble preſent; ſo that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, maſter of all the eaſt, and ſo many kingdoms, he did not think it deſcending from his majeſty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of thoſe ancient times, when men underſtood how to unite great ſimplicity with the higheſt degree of human grandeur.

[s] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 220—224.

* Among the ancients, Syria is often put for Aſſyria.

† A little above half a mile.

ARTICLE III.

The History of Cyrus, from the taking of Babylon to the Time of his Death.

CYRUS finding himself master of all the east, by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high station.

SECT. I. *Cyrus takes a Journey into Persia. At his return from thence to Babylon, he forms a Plan of Government for the whole Empire. Daniel's Credit and Power.*

[h] WHEN Cyrus judged he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him at the same time that he would find a noble palace at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would please to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. This is the Cyaxares, which is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon. A. M. 3466. Ant. J. C. 588.

[h] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 227.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a ſcheme of government for the whole empire. [k] They divided it into a hundred and twenty provinces. [l] And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus cauſed poſt-houſes to be erected at proper diſtances, where the expreſſes, that travelled day and night, found horſes always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible diſpatch. [m] The government of theſe provinces was given to thoſe perſons that had aſſiſted Cyrus moſt, and rendered him the greateſt ſervice in the war. [n] Over theſe governors were appointed three ſuperintendents, who were always to reſide at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that paſſed in their reſpective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and inſtructions; ſo that theſe three principal miniſters had the ſuperintendency over, and the chief adminiſtration of the great affairs of the whole empire. Of theſe three Daniel was made the chief. He highly deſerved ſuch a preference, not only on account of his great wiſdom, which was celebrated throughout all the eaſt, and had appeared in a diſtinguiſhed manner at Baltazar's feaſt, but likewiſe on account of his great age, and conſummate experience. For at that time it was full ſixty-ſeven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonoſor, that he had been employed as prime miniſter of the kings of Babylon.

[o] As this diſtinction had made him the ſecond perſon in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived ſo great a jealouſy of him, that they conſpired to deſtroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unleſs it were on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all perſons were forbidden to aſk any thing whatſoever, for the ſpace of thirty days, either of any god, or any man, ſave of the king; and that upon pain of being caſt into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was ſaying his uſual prayers, with his face turned towards Jeruſalem, he was ſurpriſed, accuſed, and caſt into

[k] Dan. vi. 1. [l] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232. [m] Ibid. p. 230.
[n] Dan. vi. 2, 3. [o] Dan. vi. 4—27.

the den of lions. But being miraculouſly preſerved, and coming out ſafe and unhurt, his accuſers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by thoſe animals. This event ſtill augmented Daniel's credit and reputation.

[p] Towards the end of the ſame year, which was reckoned the firſt of Darius the Mede, Daniel knowing by the computation he made, that the ſeventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earneſtly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jeruſalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the ſanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which the angel Gabriel aſſured him in a viſion, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewiſe of another deliverance much more conſiderable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of ſin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accompliſhed at the end of ſeventy weeks, that were to paſs from the time the order ſhould be given for the rebuilding of Jeruſalem, that is, after the ſpace of four hundred and ninety years: for taking each day for a year, according to the language ſometimes uſed in holy ſcripture, thoſe ſeventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years.

[q] Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they conſiſted of a hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, of two thouſand chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſix hundred thouſand foot. When he had furniſhed the garriſons with as many of them as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then ſubdued all thoſe countries, as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Æthiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was caſt into the den of lions, and miraculouſly delivered from them, as we have juſt now related.

Perhaps in the ſame interval alſo were thoſe famous pieces of gold coined, which are called Darics, from the name of

[p] Dan. ix. 1—27. [q] Cyrop. l. viii. 233.

Darius the Mede, which for their fineneſs and beauty were for ſeveral ages preferred to all other money throughout the whole eaſt.

SECT. II. *The Beginning of the united Empire of the Perſians and Medes. The famous Edict of Cyrus. Daniel's Prophecies.*

HERE, properly ſpeaking, begins the empire of the Perſians and Medes united under one and the ſame authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the firſt king and founder of it, to Darius Codomannus, who was vanquiſhed by Alexander the Great, laſted for the ſpace of two hundred and ſix years, namely, from the year of the world 3468, to the year 3674. But in this volume I propoſe to ſpeak only of the three firſt kings; and little remains to be ſaid of the founder of this new empire.

A. M. 3468. Ant. J. C. 536. CYRUS. Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyſes likewiſe ending his days in Perſia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

[s] The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his firſt ſetting out from Perſia at the head of an army, to ſuccour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but ſeven years, becauſe they date it only from the time, when by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyſes he became ſole monarch of the whole empire.

In the firſt of theſe ſeven years preciſely expired the ſeventieth year of the Babyloniſh captivity, when Cyrus publiſhed the famous edict, [t] whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jeruſalem. There is no queſtion but this edict was obtained by the care and ſolicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him this requeſt, he ſhowed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Iſaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of

[s] Cic. l. i. de Div. n. 46. [t] Iſa. xliv. & xlv.

nations under his dominion; and at the ſame time to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temples to be rebuilt, and Jeruſalem and Judea to be repoſſeſſed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper in this place to inſert that edict at length, which is certainly the moſt glorious circumſtance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be preſumed God had endowed him with ſo many heroic virtues, and bleſſed him with ſuch an uninterrupted ſeries of victories and ſucceſs.

"[u] In the firſt year of Cyrus king of the Perſians, that the word of the Lord might be accompliſhed, that he had promiſed by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raiſed up the ſpirit of Cyrus, king of the Perſians; and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and alſo by writing, ſaying, Thus ſaith Cyrus, king of the Perſians, The Lord of Iſrael, the moſt high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him a houſe at Jeruſalem in Jewry. If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord be with him, and let him go up to Jeruſalem that is in Judea, and build the houſe of the Lord of Iſrael; for he is the Lord, that dwelleth in Jeruſalem. Whoſoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (thoſe, I ſay, that are his neighbours) with gold and with ſilver; with gifts, with horſes, and with cattle, and with other things, which have been ſet forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jeruſalem."

Cyrus reſtored at the ſame time to the Jews all the veſſels of the temple of the Lord, which Nabuchodonoſor had brought from Jeruſalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zerobabel, to return into their own country.

[x] The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they poſſibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with the miniſters and other officers concerned therein, to obſtruct the execution of it; ſo that for ſeveral years the building went on very ſlowly.

[u] 1 Eſdras, ii. 1—7. [x] 1 Eſdras iv. 1—5.

[y] It ſeems to have been out of grief to ſee the execution of this decree ſo long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the firſt month of that year, Daniel gave himſelf to mourning and faſting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Perſia. When this time of faſting was ended, he ſaw the viſion concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conqueſts of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel, of which I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

* By what we find in the concluſion of the laſt chapter, we have reaſon to conjecture that he died ſoon after; and indeed his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for at this time he muſt have been at leaſt eighty-five years of age, if we ſuppoſe him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of ſomething more than human wiſdom, in the judgment of Suſannah. He was ever afterwards very much conſidered by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with diſtinction in the adminiſtration of their affairs.

Daniel's wiſdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but alſo to arts and ſciences, and particularly to that of architecture. [z] Joſephus ſpeaks of a famous edifice built by him at † Suſa, in the manner of a caſtle (which he ſays ſtill ſubſiſted in his time) and finiſhed with ſuch wonderful art, that it then ſeemed as freſh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Perſian and Parthian kings were uſually buried; and for the ſake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewiſh nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in thoſe parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that ‡ city, and there they ſhow his monument even

[y] Dan. x. 1—3. [z] Antiq. l. x. cap. 12.

* But go thou thy way till the end be; for thou ſhalt reſt, and ſtand in thy lot at the end of the days. *Dan.* i. 13.

† So it ought to be read, according to St. Jerom, who relates the ſame fact; *Com. in Dan.* viii. 2. and not Ecbatana, as it is now read in the of text Joſephus.

‡ Now called Tuſter.

to this day. It is certain, that he uſed to go thither from time to time; and he himſelf tells us, that "[a] he did the king's buſineſs there;" that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

Reflections upon Daniel's Prophecies.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reaſonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. [b] I ſhall not dwell upon that which perſonally related to Nebuchadnezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the puniſhment of his pride, he ſhould be reduced to the condition of the beaſts of the field, and after a certain number of years reſtored again to his underſtanding and to his throne. It is well known the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction: the king himſelf relates it in a declaration, addreſſed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it poſſible for Daniel to aſcribe ſuch a manifeſto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to ſpeak of it, as a thing ſent into all the provinces, if nobody had ſeen it; and in the midſt of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publiſh an atteſtation of ſo important a matter, and ſo injurious to the king, and of which the falſehood muſt have been notorious to all the world?

I ſhall content myſelf with repreſenting very briefly, and under one and the ſame point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which ſignify the ſucceſſion of four great empires, and which for that reaſon have an eſſential and neceſſary relation to the ſubject matter of this work, which is only the hiſtory of thoſe very empires.

[c] The firſt of theſe prophecies was occaſioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had, of an image compoſed of different metals, gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron; which image was broken in pieces, and beat as ſmall as duſt by a little ſtone from the mountain, which afterwards became itſelf a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. This dream I have already [d] ſpoken of at large.

[a] Dan. viii. 27. [b] Dan. iv. [c] Dan. ii. 43, 44. [d] Pag. 83.

About fifty * years after, the ſame Daniel ſaw another viſion, very like that which I have juſt been ſpeaking of: this was the viſion of the four large beaſts, which came out of the ſea. The firſt was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the ſecond was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and laſt, ſtill more ſtrong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue with his feet. From the midſt of the ten horns, which this beaſt had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like thoſe of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the ſame horn made war with the ſaints, and prevailed againſt them, until the ancient of days, that is, the everlaſting God, came, and ſitting upon his throne, ſurrounded with a thouſand millions of angels, pronounced an irreverſible judgment upon the four beaſts, whoſe time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations, and all the tribes, an everlaſting power and dominion which ſhall not paſs away, and a kingdom which ſhall not be deſtroyed.

It is generally agreed, that theſe two viſions, the one of the image compoſed of different metals, the other of the four beaſts that came out of the ſea, ſignified ſo many different monarchies, which were to ſucceed one another, were to be ſucceſſively deſtroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jeſus Chriſt, for whom alone they had ſubſiſted. It is alſo agreed, that theſe four monarchies were thoſe of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the † Romans. This is plainly demonſtrated by the very order of their ſucceſſion. But where did Daniel ſee this ſucceſſion and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but he only who is the maſter of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who by a ſupernatural revelation imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleaſes ‡?

* This was the firſt year of Baltazar, king of Babylon. *Dan.* vii.

† Some interpreters, inſtead of the Romans, put the kings of Syria and Egypt, Alexander's ſucceſſors.

‡ He changeth the times and the ſeaſons; he removeth and ſetteth up kings; he revealeth the deep and ſecret things; and the light dwelleth with him, *Dan.* ii. 21, 22.

[c] In the following chapter this prophet ſtill ſpeaks with greater clearneſs and preciſion. For after having repreſented the Perſian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beaſts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plaineſt manner: the ram, which hath two unequal horns, repreſents the king of the Medes and Perſians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, repreſents the firſt king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel ſee, that the Perſian empire ſhould be compoſed of two different nations, Medes and Perſians; and that this empire ſhould be deſtroyed by the power of the Grecians? How did he foreſee the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts, which he ſo aptly deſcribes by ſaying, that *he touched not the ground?* How did he learn, that Alexander ſhould not have any ſucceſſor equal to himſelf, and that the firſt monarch of the Grecian empire ſhould be likewiſe the moſt powerful? * By what other light than that of divine revelation could he diſcover, that Alexander would have no ſon to ſucceed him; that his empire would be diſmembered and divided into four principal kingdoms; and his ſucceſſors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy ſo ſuddenly formed, ſeveral ſtates would be eſtabliſhed, of which ſome would be in the eaſt, others in the weſt, ſome in the ſouth, and others in the north.

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The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no leſs aſtoniſhing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign †, foretel, that the fourth of Cyrus's ſucceſſors ſhould gather ‡ together all his forces, to attack the Grecian ſtates? How could this

[c] Dan. chap. viii.

* And a mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion: And his kingdom ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. *Dan.* xi. 3, 4. Four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the nation, but not in his power. *Dan.* viii. 22.

† Behold, there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings of Perſia, and the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all; and by his ſtrength through his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of Grecia. *Dan.* xi. 2.

‡ Xerxes.

prophet, who lived ſo long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly deſcribe all the perſecutions, which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his aboliſhing the ſacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jeruſalem; the profanation of that holy place, by ſetting up an idol therein; and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? [f] How could he, in the firſt year of the Perſian empire, foretel the wars, which Alexander's ſucceſſors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invaſions of one another's territories, their inſincerity in their treaties, and their marriage alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious deſigns?

I leave to the intelligent and religious reader to draw the concluſion, which naturally reſults from theſe predictions of Daniel; for they are ſo clear and expreſs, that Porphyry [g], a profeſſed enemy of the Chriſtian religion, could find no other way of diſputing the divine original of them, but by pretending, that they were writ after the events, and rather a narration of things paſt, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I muſt deſire the reader to remark what an oppoſition the Holy Ghoſt has put between the empires of the world and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. In the former every thing appears great, ſplendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majeſty, ſeem to be their natural attendants. In them we eaſily diſcern thoſe great warriors, thoſe famous conquerors, thoſe thunderbolts of war, who ſpread terror every where, and whom nothing could withſtand. But then they are repreſented as wild beaſts, as bears, lions, and leopards, whoſe ſole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to deſtroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it inſtruct us to leſſen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders, or governors.

In the empire of Jeſus Chriſt it is quite otherwiſe. Let us conſider its origin and firſt riſe, or carefully examine its progreſs and growth at all times, and we ſhall find, that

[f] Dan. xi. 5—45. [g] S. Hieron. in Proœm. ad com. in Dan.

weakneſs and meanneſs, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, have always outwardly been one of its true characteriſtics. It is the leaven, the grain of muſtard ſeed, the little ſtone cut out of the mountain. And yet in reality there is no true greatneſs but in this empire. The Eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themſelves before him. The end of his reign is the ſalvation of mankind; it is to make them eternally happy, and to form to himſelf a nation of ſaints and juſt perſons, who are all of them ſo many kings and conquerors. It is for their ſakes only, that the whole world doth ſubſiſt; and when the number of them ſhall be complete, "[h] Then," ſays St. Paul, "cometh the end and conſummation of all things, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority and power."

Can a writer, who ſees in the prophecies of Daniel that the ſeveral empires of the world, after having ſubſiſted the time determined for them by the ſovereign diſpoſer of kingdoms, do all terminate and centre in the empire of Jeſus Chriſt? Can a writer, I ſay, amidſt all theſe profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine one, and not have it always in view, at leaſt at a diſtance, as the end and conſummation of all others.

SECT. III. *The laſt Years of Cyrus. The Death of that Prince.*

[i] LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural ſubjects, and by thoſe of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the eaſt by the river Indus, on the north by the Caſpian and Euxine Seas, on the weſt by the Egean Sea, and on the ſouth by Ethiopia and the ſea of Arabia. He eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the midſt of all theſe countries, ſpending generally ſeven months of the year at Babylon in the winter ſeaſon, becauſe of the warmth

[h] 1 Cor. xv. 24. [i] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233, &c.

of that climate; three months at Suſa in the ſpring time, and two months at Ecbatana, during the heat of the ſummer.

Seven years being ſpent in this ſtate of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Perſia, which was the ſeventh time from his acceſſion to the whole monarchy: and this ſhows, that he uſed to go regularly into Perſia once a year. Cambyſes had been now dead for ſome time, and Cyrus himſelf was grown pretty old, being at this time about ſeventy years of age; thirty of which had paſſed ſince his being firſt made general of the Perſian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and ſeven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very laſt he * enjoyed a vigorous ſtate of health, which was the fruit of his ſober and temperate life. And as they, who give themſelves up to drunkenneſs and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age, even whilſt they are young, Cyrus on the contrary in a very advanced age enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the ſtate, to be aſſembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him through the courſe of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldeſt ſon, Cambyſes, his ſucceſſor, and left the other, whoſe name was Tanaoxares, ſeveral very conſiderable governments. He gave them both excellent inſtructions, by repreſenting to them, that the main ſtrength and ſupport of the throne was neither the vaſt extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immenſe riches; but a due reſpect for the gods, a good underſtanding between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preſerving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you therefore," ſaid he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to reſpect and love one another, if you would retain any deſire to pleaſe me for the future. For I do not think you will eſteem me to be no longer any thing, becauſe you will not ſee me after my death. You never ſaw my

* *Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo ſermone, quem muriens habuit, cum admodum ſenex eſſet, negat ſe unquam ſenſiſſe ſenectutem ſuam imbecilliorem factam, quam adoleſcentia fuiſſet.* Cic. de Senect. n. 30.

ſoul till this inſtant: you muſt have known however by its actions that it really exiſted. Do you believe, that honours would ſtill be paid to thoſe whoſe bodies are now but aſhes, if their ſouls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my ſons, I could never imagine, that the ſoul only lived whilſt in a mortal body, and died when ſeparated from it. But if I miſtake, and nothing of me ſhall remain after death, at leaſt fear the gods, who never die, who ſee all things, and whoſe power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and juſtice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obſcurity, but have expoſed you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole univerſe. If your actions are guiltleſs and upright, be aſſured, they will augment your glory and power. For my body, my ſons, when life has forſook it, incloſe it neither in gold nor ſilver, nor any other matter whatſoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH. Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated with the benefactreſs, and common mother of human kind?" After having given his hand to be kiſſed by all that were preſent, finding himſelf at the point of death, he added theſe laſt words: "Adieu, dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my laſt remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well abſent as preſent, receive this laſt farewel, and may you live in peace." After having ſaid this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

The order given by Cyrus to RESTORE HIS BODY TO THE EARTH, is in my opinion very remarkable. He would have thought it diſgraced and injured, if incloſed in gold or ſilver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, ſays he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of thoſe precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his ſubjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactreſs of human race, to perpetuate that good, in ſome meaſure, even after his death. A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

Character and Praiſe of Cyrus.

Cyrus may juſtly be conſidered, as the wiſeſt conqueror, and the moſt accompliſhed prince to be found in profane hiſtory. He was poſſeſſed of all the qualities requiſite to form a great man; wiſdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble ſentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carried it, a vaſt extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal ſteadineſs and prudence for executing, the greateſt projects.

It is very common for thoſe heroes, who ſhine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occaſions, and in matters of a different nature. We are aſtoniſhed, when we ſee them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to ſee what low ſentiments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealouſy, and governed by intereſt; how diſagreeable and odious they render themſelves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think neceſſary to preſerve their authority, and which only ſerve to make them hated and deſpiſed.

Cyrus had none of theſe defects. He appeared always the ſame, that is, always great, even in the moſt indifferent matters. Being aſſured of his greatneſs, of which real merit was the foundation and ſupport, he thought of nothing more than to render himſelf affable, and eaſy of acceſs: and whatever he ſeemed to loſe by this condeſcending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compenſated by the cordial affection, and ſincere reſpect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater maſter of the art of inſinuation, ſo neceſſary for thoſe that govern, and yet ſo little underſtood or practiſed. He knew perfectly what advantage may reſult from a ſingle word rightly timed, from an obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reaſon, from a little praiſe in granting a favour, and from ſoftening

a refuſal with expreſſions of concern and good-will. His hiſtory abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a ſort of wealth which moſt ſovereigns want, who are poſſeſſed of every thing but faithful friends, and whoſe indigence in that particular is concealed by the ſplendor and affluence, with which they are ſurrounded. *Cyrus was beloved, becauſe he himſelf had a love for others: for has a man any friends, or does he deſerve to have any, when he himſelf is void of friendſhip? Nothing affects us more, than to ſee in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and converſed with his friends, always preſerving as much dignity, as was requiſite to keep up a due decorum, and yet infinitely removed from that ill-judged haughtineſs, which deprives the great of the moſt innocent and agreeable pleaſure in life, that of converſing freely and ſociably with perſons of merit, though of an inferior ſtation.

The uſe he made of his friends may ſerve as a perfect model to all perſons in authority. [l] His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an expreſs command to tell him whatever they thought. And though he was much ſuperior to all his officers in underſtanding, yet he never undertook any thing, without aſking their advice: and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterpriſe, he would always have every man ſpeak his ſentiments, and would often make uſe of them to correct his own: So different was he from the perſon mentioned by Tacitus, [m] who thought it a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting the moſt excellent project or advice, that it did not proceed from himſelf: *Conſilii, quamvis egregii, quod ipſe non afferret, inimicus.*

[n] Cicero obſerves, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government he was never heard to ſpeak one rough or angry word: *Cujus ſummo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum aſperius audivit.* What a great encomium for a prince is comprehended in that ſhort ſentence! Cyrus muſt

[l] Plut. l. iii. de Leg. p. 694. [m] Hiſt. l. i. c. 16.
[n] Lib. i. Epiſt. 2. ad Q. fratrem.

* *Habes amicos, quia amicus ipſe es.* Paneg. Trajan.

have been a very great maſter of himſelf, to be able, in the midſt of ſo much agitation, and in ſpite of all the intoxicating effects of ſovereign power, always to preſerve his mind in ſuch a ſtate of calmneſs and compoſure, that no croſſes, diſappointments, or unforeſeen accidents, ſhould ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harſh or offenſive expreſſion.

But what was ſtill greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his ſteadfaſt perſuaſion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happineſs of his people: ° and that it was not by the ſplendor of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects, but by a ſuperiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a conſtant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their intereſts, and ſecure the public welfare and tranquillity. He ſaid himſelf one day, as he was diſcourſing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to conſider himſelf as a * ſhepherd; (the image under which both ſacred and profane antiquity repreſented good kings) and that he ought to have the ſame vigilance, care, and goodneſs. "It is his duty," ſays he, "to watch, that his people may live in ſafety and quiet; to charge himſelf with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to chuſe whatever is ſalutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in ſeeing them increaſe and multiply, and valiantly expoſe his own perſon in their defence and protection. This (ſays he) is the natural idea, and the juſt image of a good king. It is reaſonable at the ſame time, that his ſubjects ſhould render him all the ſervice he ſtands in need of; but it is ſtill more reaſonable, that he ſhould labour to make them happy; becauſe it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a ſhepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the commonwealth's guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their ſovereign, is

° Cyrop. l. i. p. 27.

* Thou ſhalt feed my people, ſaid God to David, 2 *Sam.* v. 2. Ποιμην λαων, Homer, in many places.

but one and the ſame thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, becauſe the reaſon and end of governing others is only to be uſeful and ſerviceable to them. The very baſis and foundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themſelves; the very character of their greatneſs is, that they are conſecrated to the public good. They may properly be conſidered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuſe and ſhed its beams on every thing below. Are ſuch ſentiments as theſe any diſparagement to the dignity of the regal ſtate?

It was by the concurrence of all theſe virtues that Cyrus founded ſuch an extenſive empire in ſo ſhort a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conqueſts for ſeveral years; that he made himſelf ſo much eſteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural ſubjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his death he was univerſally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not for our parts to be ſurpriſed, that Cyrus was ſo accompliſhed in every virtue (it will eaſily be underſtood, that I ſpeak only of Pagan virtues) becauſe we know it was God himſelf, who had formed him to be the inſtrument and agent of his gracious deſigns towards his peculiar people.

When I ſay that God himſelf had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any ſenſible miracle, or that he immediately made him ſuch, as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in hiſtory. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the ſeeds of all the nobleſt qualities, diſpoſing his heart at the ſame time to aſpire after the moſt excellent and ſublime virtues. But above all he took care, that this happy genius ſhould be cultivated by a good education, and by that means be prepared for the great deſigns, for which he intended him. We may venture to ſay, without fear of being miſtaken, that the greateſt excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him, in ſome ſort, with the reſt of the ſubjects, and the keeping him under the ſame ſubjection to the authority of his teachers, ſerved to eradicate that pride, which is ſo natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured

him to hardſhip and toil; accuſtomed him to temperance and ſobriety; and in a word rendered him ſuch, as we have ſeen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modeſt, affable, obliging, compaſſionate, an enemy to all luxury and pride, and ſtill more ſo to flattery.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch a prince is one of the moſt precious and valuable gifts that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themſelves have acknowledged this truth; nor has the darkneſs of their falſe religion been able to hide theſe two remarkable truths from their obſervation, that all good kings are the gift of God, and that ſuch a gift includes many others; for nothing can be ſo excellent as that which bears the moſt perfect reſemblance to the Deity; and the nobleſt image of the Deity is a juſt, moderate, chaſte, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to eſtabliſh the reign of juſtice and virtue. This is the portraiture which Pliny has left us of Trajan, and which has a great reſemblance with that of Cyrus. [p] *Nullum eſt præſtabilius et pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam caſtus, et ſanctus et Deo ſimillimus princeps.*

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there ſeems to have been one circumſtance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly, I mean that of having ſtruggled under ſome grievous calamity for ſome time, and of having his virtue tried by ſome ſudden turn of fortune. I know indeed, that the emperor Galba, when he adopted Piſo, told him that the ſtings of proſperity were infinitely ſharper than thoſe of adverſity; and that the former put the ſoul to a much ſeverer trial than the latter: [q] *Fortunam adhuc tantum adverſam tuliſti; ſecundæ res acrioribus ſtimilis explorant animos.* And the reaſon he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's ſoul, ſhe exerts herſelf, and ſummons all her ſtrength to bear up the burden; whereas proſperity attacking the mind ſecretly or inſenſibly, leaves it all its weakneſs, and inſinuates a poiſon into it, by ſo much the more dangerous, as it is the more ſubtle: *Quia miſeriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.*

[p] Paneg. Traj. [q] Hiſt. lib. i. c. 16.

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind, independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to itself; but is capable of supporting others.

[r] Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper, so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: and this prudent fear was not only a [s] preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined, with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind*, who acknowledge no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of

[r] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 234.

[s] Ουκ εια μεγα φρονειν, ἁδ ευφραινεσθαι εκπεπλαμενως.

* *Id in summa fortuna æquius quod validius. Et sua retinere privatæ domus: de alienis certare regiam laudem esse.* TACIT. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 1.

juſtice as laws which only private perſons were obliged to obſerve, and derogatory to the majeſty of kings; who ſet no other bounds to their deſigns and pretenſions, than their incapacity of carrying them any further; who ſacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory conſiſt in ſpreading deſolation and deſtruction, like fires and torrents; and * who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were maſters.

This is indeed the true character of the greateſt part of thoſe pretended heroes the world admires; and by ſuch ideas as theſe, we ought to correct the impreſſion made upon our minds by the undue praiſes of ſome hiſtorians, and the ſentiments of many deceived by falſe images of greatneſs.

I do not know, whether I am not biaſed in favour of Cyrus; but he ſeems to me to have been of a very different character from thoſe conquerors, whom I have juſt now deſcribed. Not that I would juſtify Cyrus in every reſpect, or repreſent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the ſoul of all his undertakings; but he certainly reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjuſt wars, which whoever undertakes without a juſt foundation, renders himſelf accountable for all the blood that is ſhed. Now every war is of this ſort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conqueſts, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himſelf terrible to his neighbours.

[t] Cyrus, as we have ſeen, at the beginning of the war founded all his hopes of ſucceſs on the juſtice of his cauſe, and repreſented to his ſoldiers, in order to inſpire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggreſſors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who ſeemed themſelves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjuſtly oppreſſed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conqueſts, we ſhall find that they were all conſequences of the victories he obtained over Crœſus, king of Lydia, who was maſter of the greateſt part of the leſſer

[t] Cyrop. l. i. p. 25.

* *Quæ alia vita eſſet, ſi leones ut ſique regnarent?* Sen. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 26.

Aſia; and over the king of Babylon, who was maſter of all upper Aſia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggreſſors.

With good reaſon therefore is Cyrus repreſented as one of the greateſt princes recorded in hiſtory; and his reign juſtly propoſed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unleſs juſtice had been the baſis and foundation of it: * *Cyrus a Xenophonte ſcriptus ad juſti effigiem imperii.*

SECT. IV. *Wherein Herodotus and Xenophon differ in their Accounts of Cyrus.*

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the ſubſtance and moſt eſſential part of Cyrus's hiſtory, and particularly in what relates to his expedition againſt Babylon, and his other conqueſts; yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of ſeveral very important facts, as the birth and death of that prince, and the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire. I therefore think myſelf obliged to give a ſuccinct account of what Herodotus relates as to theſe points.

[u] He tells us, as Juſtin does after him, that Aſtyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the ſon, who was to be born of his daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Perſian of an obſcure birth and fortune, whoſe name was Cambyſes: this daughter being delivered of a ſon, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to deſtroy the infant. He, inſtead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's ſhepherds, and ordered him to leave it expoſed in a foreſt. But the child being miraculouſly preſerved, and ſecretly brought up by the ſhepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the ſame by his grandfather, who contented himſelf with baniſhing him to the moſt remote parts of Perſia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feaſt, and entertained with the fleſh of his own ſon. Several years after, young

[u] Her. l. i. & 107—130. Juſtin. l. i. c. 4, 6.

* Cic. l. i. Epiſt. 1. ad Q. fratrem.

Cyrus, being informed by Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by his counſels and remonſtrances, raiſed an army in Perſia, marched againſt Aſtyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and ſo transferred the empire from the Medes to the Perſians.

[x] The ſame Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming ſo great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms againſt the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the firſt battle feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and proviſions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to ſeize the booty. When they had drank largely, and were aſleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an eaſy victory, taking a vaſt number of priſoners, amongſt whom was the ſon of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army. This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refuſed to reſtore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to ſee himſelf a priſoner, killed himſelf with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a deſire of revenge, gave the Perſians a ſecond battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambuſh, and killed above two hundred thouſand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, ſhe flung it into a veſſel full of blood, inſulting him at the ſame time with theſe opprobrious words, "* Now glut thyſelf with blood, in which thou haſt always delighted, and of which thy thirſt has always been inſatiable."

The account given by Herodotus of Cyrus's infancy, and firſt adventures, has much more the air of a romance, than of a hiſtory. And, as to the manner of his death, what probability is there, that a prince, ſo experienced in war, and no leſs renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, ſhould ſo eaſily fall into an ambuſcade laid by a woman for him? [y] What the ſame hiſtorian relates concerning his haſty violent paſſion, and his childiſh revenge upon the river † in which

[x] Ibid. l. i. c. 205—214. Juſtin. l. i. c. 8. [y] Her. l. i. c. 189.

* *Satia te, inquit, ſanguine, quem ſitiſti, cujuſque inſatiabilis ſemper fuiſti.* JUSTIN. l. i. c. 8.

† Gyndes.

one of his ſacred horſes was drowned, and which he immediately cauſed to be cut by his army into three hundred and ſixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Beſides, [z] is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conqueſt of Babylon, ſhould ſo idly waſte his time when ſo precious to him, ſhould ſpend the ardor of his troops in ſuch an unprofitable piece of work, and miſs the opportunity of ſurpriſing the Babylonians, by amuſing himſelf with a ridiculous war with a river, inſtead of carrying it againſt his enemies?

But what decides this point unanſwerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the Holy Scripture; where we ſee, that inſtead of Cyrus's having raiſed the Perſian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes (as Herodotus relates it) thoſe two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces, to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence then could ſo great a difference, as there is between theſe two hiſtorians, proceed? Herodotus himſelf explains it to us. In the very place, where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he ſpeaks of his death, he acquaints us, that even at that time thoſe two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleaſed him beſt, for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver diſpoſition, and of leſs credulity; and in the very beginning of his hiſtory acquaints us, that he had taken great care and plains to inform himſelf of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of Cambyſes.

[a] AS ſoon as Cambyſes was ſeated in the throne, he reſolved to make war againſt Egypt, for a particular affront, which, according to Herodotus, he pretended to have A. M. 3475. Ant. J. C. 529.

[z] Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 21. [a] Herod. l. iii. c. 1—3.

received from Amaſis: of this I have already given an account. But it is more probable, that Amaſis, who had ſubmitted to Cyrus, and become tributary to him, might draw this war upon himſelf, by refuſing, after Cyrus's death, to pay the ſame homage and tribute to his ſucceſſor, and by attempting to ſhake off his yoke.

[b] Cambyſes, in order to carry on the war with ſucceſs, made vaſt preparations both by ſea and land. The Cypriots and Phœnicians furniſhed him with ſhips. As for his land-army, he added to his own troops a great number of Grecians, Ionians, and Æolians, which made up the principal part of his forces. But none was of greater ſervice to him in this war, than Phanes of Halicarnaſſus, who being the commander of ſome auxiliary Greeks, in the ſervice of Amaſis, and being ſome way or other diſſatisfied with that prince, came over to Cambyſes, and gave him ſuch intelligence concerning the nature of the country, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the ſtate of his affairs, as very much facilitated the ſucceſs of his expedition. It was particularly by his advice, that he contracted with an Arabian king, whoſe territories lay between the confines of Paleſtine and Egypt, to furniſh his army with water during their march through the deſert, that lay between thoſe two countries: which agreement that prince fulfilled, by ſending the water on the backs of camels, without which Cambyſes could never have marched his army that way.

[c] Having made all theſe preparations, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. When he was arrived upon the frontiers, he was informed that Amaſis was juſt dead, and that Pſammenitus, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, was buſy in gathering all his forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his kingdom. Before Cambyſes could open a paſſage into the country, it was neceſſary he ſhould render himſelf maſter of Peluſium, which was the key of Egypt on the ſide he invaded it. Now Peluſium was ſo ſtrong a place, that in all likelihood it muſt have ſtopped him a great while. But according to Polyenus, to facilitate this enterpriſe, [d] Cambyſes invented the following ſtratagem. Being informed, that the whole garriſon conſiſted of Egyp-

[b] Herod. l. iii. c. 4—9. [c] Ibid. c. 10. [d] Polyen. l. vii.

tians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, ſheep, and other animals, which were looked upon as ſacred by that nation, and then attacked the city by ſtorm. The ſoldiers of the garriſon not daring either to fling a dart, or ſhoot an arrow that way, for fear of hitting ſome of thoſe animals, Cambyſes became maſter of the place without oppoſition.

[e] When Cambyſes had got poſſeſſion of the city, Pſammenitus advanced with a great army to ſtop his progreſs; and a conſiderable battle enſued between them. But before they engaged, the Greeks, who were in Pſammenitus's army, in order to be revenged of Phanes for his revolt, took his children, which he had been obliged to leave in Egypt when he fled, cut their throats between the two camps, and in preſence of the two armies, drank their blood. This outrageous cruelty did not procure them the victory. The Perſians, enraged at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, fell upon them with great fury, quickly routed and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, of which the greateſt part were killed upon the ſpot. Thoſe that could ſave themſelves eſcaped to Memphis.

[f] On the occaſion of this battle Herodotus takes notice of an extraordinary circumſtance, of which he himſelf was a witneſs. The bones of the Perſians and Egyptians were ſtill in the place where the battle was fought, but ſeparated from one another. The ſkulls of the Egyptians were ſo hard, that a violent ſtroke of a ſtone would hardly break them; and thoſe of the Perſians ſo ſoft, that you might break them, or pierce them through, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable. The reaſon of this difference was, that the former, from their infancy, were accuſtomed to have their heads ſhaved, and to go uncovered, whereas the latter had their heads always covered with their tiaras, which is one of their principal ornaments.

[g] Cambyſes, having purſued the run-aways to Memphis, ſent an herald into the city, in a veſſel of Mitylene, by the river Nile, on which Memphis ſtood, to ſummon the inhabitants to ſurrender. But the people, tranſported with rage, fell upon the herald, and tore him to pieces, and all that were

[e] Herod. l. iii. c. 11. [f] Cap. 12. [g] Cap. 13.

with him. Cambyſes, having ſoon after taken the place, fully revenged the indignity, cauſing ten times as many Egyptians, of the prime nobility, as there had been of his people maſſacred, to be publicly executed. Among theſe was the eldeſt ſon of Pſammenitus. As for the king himſelf, Cambyſes was inclined to treat him kindly. He not only ſpared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance. But the Egyptian monarch, little affected with this kind uſage, did what he could to raiſe new troubles and commotions, in order to recover his kingdom; as a puniſhment for which he was made to drink bull's blood, and died immediately. His reign laſted but ſix months; after which all Egypt ſubmitted to the conqueror. On the news of this ſucceſs the Lybians, the Cyrenians, and the Barceans, all ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to Cambyſes, to make him their ſubmiſſions.

[h] From Memphis he went to the city of Sais, which was the burying-place of the kings of Egypt. As ſoon as he entered the palace, he cauſed the body of Amaſis to be taken out of its tomb; and, after having expoſed it to a thouſand indignities in his own preſence, he ordered it to be caſt into the fire, and to be burnt; which was a thing equally contrary to the cuſtoms of the Perſians and Egyptians. The rage this prince teſtified againſt the dead carcaſe of Amaſis, ſhows to what a degree he hated his perſon. Whatever was the cauſe of that averſion, it ſeems to have been one of the chief motives Cambyſes had of carrying his arms into Egypt.

[i] The next year, which was the ſixth of his reign, he reſolved to make war in three different countries; againſt the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians. The firſt of theſe projects he was obliged to lay aſide, becauſe the Phœnicians, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not carry on that war, refuſed to ſuccour him againſt the Carthaginians, who were deſcended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony.

[k] But, being determined to invade the other two nations, he ſent ambaſſadors into Ethiopia, who under that character were to act as ſpies for him, to learn the ſtate and ſtrength of the country, and give him intelligence of both. They

[h] Herod. lib. iii. c. 16. [i] Cap. 17, 19. [k] Cap. 20—24.

carried preſents along with them, ſuch as the Perſians were uſed to make, as purple, golden bracelets, compound perfumes, and wine. Theſe preſents, amongſt which there was nothing uſeful, or ſerviceable to life, except the wine, were deſpiſed by the Ethiopians: neither did they make much more account of his ambaſſadors, whom they took for what they really were, ſpies and enemies in diſguiſe. However, the king of Ethiopia was willing after his way, to make a preſent to the king of Perſia; and taking a bow in his hands, which a Perſian was ſo far from being able to draw, that he could ſcarce lift it, he drew it in preſence of the ambaſſadors, and told them: "This is the preſent and the counſel the king of Ethiopia gives the king of Perſia. When the Perſians ſhall be able to uſe a bow of this bigneſs and ſtrength, with as much eaſe as I have now bent it, then let him come to attack the Ethiopians, and bring more troops than Cambyſes is maſter of. In the mean time, let them thank the gods for not having put it into the hearts of the Ethiopians to extend their dominions beyond their own country."

[l] This anſwer having enraged Cambyſes, he commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without conſidering that he neither had proviſions, nor any thing neceſſary for ſuch an expedition: but he left the Grecians behind him, in his new-conquered country, to keep it in ſubjection during his abſence.

[m] As ſoon as he arrived at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thouſand of his men againſt the Ammonians, ordering them to ravage the country, and to deſtroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was famous there. But, after they had made ſeveral days march in the deſert, a violent wind blowing from the ſouth, brought ſuch a vaſt quantity of ſand upon the army, that the men were all overwhelmed, and buried under it.

In the mean time, Cambyſes marched forwards like a madman towards the Ethiopians, notwithſtanding his being deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions; which quickly cauſed a terrible famine in his army. He had ſtill time, ſays Herodotus, to remedy this evil: but Cambyſes would have thought

[l] Herod. l. iii. c. 25. [m] Cap. 25, 26.

it a diſhonour to have deſiſted from his undertaking, and therefore he proceeded in his expedition. At firſt his army was obliged to live upon herbs, roots, and leaves of trees; but, coming afterwards into a country entirely barren, they were reduced to the neceſſity of eating their beaſts of burden. At laſt they were brought to ſuch a cruel extremity, as to be obliged to eat one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to ſerve as meat for his companions; a meat, ſays Seneca, more cruel and terrible than famine itſelf; [n] *Decimum quemque ſortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame ſævius.* Notwithſtanding all this, the king ſtill perſiſted in his deſign, or rather in his madneſs, nor did the miſerable deſolation of his army make him ſenſible of his error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own perſon, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful famine among the troops (who would believe it?) there was no abatement of delicacies at his table, and camels were ſtill reſerved to carry his kitchen-furniture, and the inſtruments of his luxury: [o] *Servabantur illi interim generoſæ aves, et inſtrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum ſortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*

The remainder of his army, of which the greateſt part was loſt in this expedition, he brought back to Thebes; [p] where he ſucceeded much better in the war declared againſt the gods, whom he found more eaſy to be conquered than men. Thebes was full of temples, that were incredibly rich and magnificent. All theſe Cambyſes pillaged, and then ſet them on fire. The richneſs of theſe temples muſt have been vaſtly great ſince the very remains, ſaved from the flames, amounted to an immenſe ſum, three hundred talents of gold, and two thouſand three hundred talents of ſilver. [q] He likewiſe carried away at this time the famous circle of gold, that encompaſſed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and fifty-five cubits in circumference, and in which were repreſented all the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations.

[r] From Thebes he went back to Memphis, where he diſmiſſed all the Greeks, and ſent them to their reſpective

[n] De Ira, l. iii. c, 20. [o] Ibid. [p] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 43.
[q] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 46. [r] Her. l. iii. c. 27—29.

homes: but on his return into the city, finding it full of rejoicings, he fell into a great rage, ſuppoſing all this to have been for the ill ſucceſs of his expedition. He therefore called the magiſtrates before him, to know the meaning of theſe public rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was becauſe they had found their god Apis, he would not believe them, but cauſed them to be put to death, as impoſtors that inſulted him and his misfortunes. And then he ſent for the prieſts, who made him the ſame anſwer: upon which he replied, that ſince their god was ſo kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when inſtead of a god he ſaw a calf, he was ſtrangely aſtoniſhed, and falling again into a rage, he drew out his dagger, and run it into the thigh of the beaſt; and then upbraiding the prieſts for their ſtupidity in worſhipping a brute for a god, ordered them to be ſeverely whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis, that ſhould be found celebrating the feaſt of Apis, to be ſlain. The god was carried back to the temple, where he languiſhed of his wound for ſome time, and then died.

[s]The Egyptians ſay, that after this fact, which they reckon to have been the higheſt inſtance of impiety that ever was committed among them, Cambyſes grew mad. But his actions ſhowed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give various inſtances: among the reſt, are the following:

[t]He had a brother, the only ſon of Cyrus, beſides himſelf, and born of the ſame mother: his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Juſtin Mergis. He accompanied Cambyſes in his Egyptian expedition. But being the only perſon among all the Perſians, that could draw the bow, which Cambyſes's ambaſſadors brought him from the king of Ethiopia, Cambyſes from hence conceived ſuch a jealouſy againſt him, that he could bear him no longer in the army, but ſent him back into Perſia. And not long after dreaming, that ſomebody told him that Smerdis ſat on the throne, he conceived a ſuſpicion that his brother aſpired to the throne, and ſent

[s] Cap. 30. [t] Ibid.

after him into Perſia, Prexaſpes, one of his chief confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed.

[u] This murder was the cauſe of another ſtill more criminal. Cambyſes had with him in the camp his youngeſt ſiſter, whoſe name was Meroe. Herodotus acquaints us after what a ſtrange manner this ſiſter became his wife. As the princeſs was exceedingly beautiful, Cambyſes abſolutely reſolved to marry her. To that end he called together all the judges of the Perſian nation, to whom belonged the interpretation of their laws, to know of them, whether there was any law, that would allow a brother to marry a ſiſter. The judges, being unwilling on one hand directly to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and on the other, fearing the king's violent temper, ſhould they contradict him, endeavoured to find out a ſalvo, and gave him this crafty anſwer, That they had no law indeed which permitted a brother to marry his ſiſter, but they had a law which allowed the king of Perſia to do what he pleaſed. Which ſerving his purpoſe as well as a direct approbation, he ſolemnly married her, and hereby gave the firſt example of that inceſt, which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters, how repugnant ſoever it be to modeſty and good order. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being Meroe he from her gave that name to an iſland in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it; for ſo far he advanced in his wild march againſt the Ethiopians. The thing that gave occaſion to his murdering this princeſs was as follows. One day Cambyſes was diverting himſelf in ſeeing a combat between a young lion and a young dog: the lion having the better, another dog brother to him that was engaged, came to his aſſiſtance, and helped him to maſter the lion. This adventure mightily delighted Cambyſes, but drew tears from Meroe, who being obliged to tell her huſband the reaſon of her weeping, confeſſed, that this combat made her call to mind the fate of her brother Smerdis, who had not had the ſame good fortune as that little dog. There needed no more than this to excite

[u] Her. l. iii. c. 31, 32.

the rage of this brutal prince, who immediately gave her, notwithſtanding her being with child, ſuch a blow with his foot on the belly, that ſhe died of it. So abominable a marriage deſerved no better end.

[x] He cauſed alſo ſeveral of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, and daily ſacrificed ſome or other of them to his wild fury. He had obliged Prexaſpes, one of his principal officers and favourites, to declare to him what his Perſian ſubjects thought and ſaid of him. "They admire, Sir," ſays Prexaſpes, "a great many excellent qualities they ſee in you, but they are ſomewhat mortified at your immoderate love of wine."—"I underſtand you," replied the king, "that is, they pretend that wine deprives me of my reaſon. You ſhall be judge of that immediately." Upon which he began to drink exceſſively, pouring it down in larger quantities than ever he had done at any time before. Then ordering Prexaſpes's ſon, who was his chief cup-bearer, to ſtand upright at the end of the room, with his left hand upon his head, he took his bow, and levelled at him; and declaring that he aimed at his heart, let fly, and actually ſhot him in the heart. He then ordered his ſide to be opened, and ſhowing the father the heart of his ſon, which the arrow had pierced, aſked him, in an inſulting ſcoffing manner, if he had not a ſteady hand? The wretched father, who ought not to have had either voice or life remaining after a ſtroke like this, was ſo mean-ſpirited as to reply: "Apollo himſelf could not have ſhot better." Seneca, who copied this ſtory from Herodotus, after having ſhown his deteſtation of the barbarous cruelty of the prince, condemns ſtill more the cowardly and monſtrous flattery of the father: *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum eſt quam miſſum.*

[y] When Crœſus took upon him to adviſe Cambyſes againſt theſe proceedings, and laid before him the ill conſequences they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And, when thoſe who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, deferred the execution, he cauſed them all to be put to death, becauſe they had not obeyed his commands, though at the ſame time, he expreſſed great joy that Crœſus was alive.

[x] Her. l. iii. c. 34, 35. Sen. l. iii. de Ira, c. 14. [y] Her. l. iii. c. 36.

It was about this time, Oretes, one of Cambyſes's ſatrapæ, who had the government of Sardis, after a very ſtrange and extraordinary manner brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. The ſtory of this Polycrates is of ſo ſingular a nature, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed, if I repeat it here.

[z] This Polycrates was a prince, who through the whole courſe of his life had been perfectly proſperous and ſucceſsful in all his affairs, and had never met with the leaſt diſappointment, or unfortunate accident, to diſturb his felicity. Amaſis, king of Egypt, his friend and ally thought himſelf obliged to ſend him a letter of admonition upon that ſubject. In this letter he declared to him, that he had terrible apprehenſions concerning his condition; that ſuch a long and uninterrupted courſe of proſperity was to be ſuſpected, that ſome malignant invidious god who looks upon the fortune of men with a jealous eye, would certainly ſooner or later bring ruin and deſtruction upon him; that, in order to prevent ſuch a fatal ſtroke, he adviſed him to procure ſome misfortune to himſelf by ſome voluntary loſs, that he was perſuaded would prove a ſenſible mortification to him.

The tyrant followed his advice. Having an emerald ring which he mightily eſteemed, particularly for its curious workmanſhip, as he was walking upon the deck of one of his galleys with his courtiers, he threw it into the ſea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many days after, ſome fiſhermen, having caught a fiſh of an extraordinary bigneſs, made a preſent of it to Polycrates. When the fiſh came to be opened, the king's ring was found in the belly of it. His ſurpriſe was very great, and his joy ſtill greater.

When Amaſis heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another letter to Polycrates, telling him, that, to avoid the mortification of ſeeing his friend and ally fall into ſome grievous calamity, he from that time renounced his friendſhip and alliance. A ſtrange, whimſical notion this! as if friendſhip was merely a name, or a title, deſtitute of all ſubſtance and reality.

[z] Ibid. c. 39—43.

[a] Be that as it will, the thing however did really happen as the Egyptian king apprehended. Some years after, about the time Cambyſes fell ſick, Oretes, who, as I ſaid before, was his governor at Sardis, not being able to bear the reproach which another *ſatrapa* had made him in a private quarrel, of his not having yet conquered the iſle of Samos, which lay ſo near his government, and would be ſo commodious for his maſter; Oretes upon this reſolved at any rate to deſtroy Polycrates, that he might get poſſeſſion of the iſland. The way he took to effect his deſign was this. He feigned an inclination, upon ſome pretended diſcontent, to revolt from Cambyſes; but muſt firſt take care, he ſaid, how to ſecure his treaſure and effects; for which end he was determined to depoſit them in the hands of Polycrates, and at the ſame time make him a preſent of one half of it, which would enable him to conquer Ironia and the adjacent iſlands, a thing he had long had in view. Oretes knew the tyrant loved money, and paſſionately coveted to enlarge his dominions. He therefore laid that double bait before him, by which he equally tempted his avarice and ambition. Polycrates, that he might not raſhly engage in an affair of that importance, thought it proper to inform himſelf more ſurely of the matter, and to that end ſent a meſſenger of his own to Sardis. When he came there, they ſhowed him a vaſt number of bags full of gold, as he thought, but in truth filled with ſtones, and having only the mouth of them covered over with gold. As ſoon as he was returned home, Polycrates, impatient to go and ſeize his prey, ſet out for Sardis, contrary to the advice of all his friends; and took along with him Democedes, a celebrated phyſician of Crotona. Immediately on his arrival Oretes had him arreſted, as an enemy to the ſtate, and as ſuch cauſed him to be hanged: in ſuch an ignominious and ſhameful manner did he end a life, which had been but one continued ſeries of proſperity and good fortune.

[b] Cambyſes, in the beginning of the eight year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return into Perſia. When he came into Syria, he found an herald there, ſent from Suſa to the army, to let them know that Smerdis the ſon

[a] Her. l. iii. c. 120—125. [b] Her. l. iii. c. 61.

of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and to command them all to obey him. This event had been brought about in this manner. Cambyſes, at his departure from Suſa on his Egyptian expedition, had left the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence in the hands of Patiſithes, one of the chief of the magi. This Patiſithes had a brother extremely like Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, and who perhaps for that reaſon was called by the ſame name. As ſoon as Patiſithes was fully aſſured of the death of that prince, which was concealed from the public, knowing, at the ſame time, that Cambyſes indulged his extravagance to ſuch a degree that he was grown inſupportable, he placed his own brother upon the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus; and immediately diſpatched heralds into all the parts of the empire, to give notice of Smerdis's acceſſion, and to require all the ſubjects thereof to pay him their obedience.

[c] Cambyſes cauſed the herald that came with theſe orders into Syria, to be arreſted; and having ſtrictly examined him in the preſence of Prexaſpes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and he, who had uſurped the throne, was no other than Smerdis the Magian. Upon this he made great lamentations, that being deceived by a dream, and the identity of the names, he had been induced to deſtroy his own brother; and immediately gave orders for his army to march, and cut off the uſurper. But as he was mounting his horſe for this expedition, his ſword ſlipped out of its ſcabbard, and gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died ſoon after. The Egyptians remarking that it was in the ſame part of the body where he had wounded their god Apis, reckoned it as a judgment upon him for that ſacrilegious impiety.

[d] While he was in Egypt, having conſulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told that he ſhould die at Ecbatana; which underſtanding of Ecbatana in Media, he reſolved to preſerve his life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. For the town, where he lay ſick of this wound, was of the ſame name, being alſo called Ecbatana. Of

[c] Her. l. iii. c. 62—64. [d] Cap. 64—66.

which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the chief of the Persians together, and representing to them the true state of the case, that it was Smerdis the Magian, who had usurped the throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that impostor, nor to suffer the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. The Persians thinking that he said all this out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but upon his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis.

[e] Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. In scripture he is called Ahasuerus. When he first came to the crown, the enemies of the Jews made their addresses directly to him, desiring him to hinder the building of their temple. And their application was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the edict of his father Cyrus, perhaps out of some remains of respect for his father's memory, but in a great measure frustrated his intent, by the many discouragements he laid the Jews under; so that the work went on very slowly during his reign. A. M. 3482. Ant. J. C. 522.

CHAP. III.

The History of Smerdis, the Magian.

THIS prince is called in scripture Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled in the throne, by the death of Cambyses, [f] the inhabitants of Samaria wrote a letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious people the Jews were. By virtue of this letter they obtained an order from the king prohibiting the Jews from proceeding any further in the rebuilding of their city and temple. So that the work was suspended till the second year of Darius, for about the space of two years.

The Magian, sensible how important it was for him that the impostor should not be discovered, affected, according

[e] 1 Esd. iv. 4, 6. [f] Ibid. 7—14.

to the cuſtom of the eaſtern monarchs in thoſe times, never to appear in public, but to live retired in his palace, and there tranſact all his affairs by the intercourſe of his eunuchs, without admitting any but his moſt intimate confidents to his preſence.

[g] And the better to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the throne he had uſurped, he ſtudied from his firſt acceſſion to gain the affections of his ſubjects, by granting them an exemption from taxes, and from all military ſervice for three years; and did ſo many things for their benefit, that his death was much lamented by the generality of the Perſians on the revolution that happened afterwards.

[h] But theſe very precautions, he made uſe of to keep himſelf out of the way of being diſcovered either by the nobility or the people, did but make it the more ſuſpected, that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predeceſſor's wives, and among the reſt Atoſſa a daughter of Cyrus, and Phedyma a daughter of Otanes, a noble Perſian of the firſt quality. This nobleman ſent a truſty meſſenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king, was really Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, or ſome other man. She anſwered, that having never ſeen Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, ſhe could not tell. He then by a ſecond meſſage deſired her to enquire of Atoſſa, (who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. Whereupon ſhe informed him that the preſent king kept all his wives apart, ſo that they never could converſe with one another, and that therefore ſhe could not come at Ataſſo, to aſk this queſtion of her. He ſent her a third meſſage, whereby he directed her, that when he ſhould next lie with her, ſhe ſhould take the opportunity, when he was faſt aſleep, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For Cyrus having cauſed the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for ſome crime, he told her, that if the perſon ſhe lay with had ears, ſhe might ſatisfy herſelf, that he was Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus; but, if not, he was Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of poſſeſſing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received theſe inſtructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial ſhe was directed to, and finding that the perſon ſhe lay with

[g] Her. l. iii. c. 67. [h] Her. l. iii. c. 69.

had no ears, ſhe ſent word to her father of it, whereby the whole fraud was diſcovered.

[i] Otanes immediately entered into a conſpiracy with five more of the chief Perſian nobility; and Darius, an illuſtrious Perſian nobleman, whoſe father Hyſtaſpes was governor of *Perſia, coming very ſeaſonably, as they were forming their plan, was admitted into the aſſociation and vigorouſly promoted the execution. The affair was conducted with great ſecrecy, and the very day fixed, leſt it ſhould be diſcovered.

[k] While they were concerting their meaſures, an extraordinary occurrence, which they had not the leaſt expectation of, ſtrangely perplexed the Magians. In order to remove all ſuſpicion, they had propoſed to Prexaſpes, and obtained a promiſe from him, that he would publicly declare before the people who were to be aſſembled for that purpoſe, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus. When the people were aſſembled, which was on the very ſame day Prexaſpes ſpoke from the top of a tower, and to the great aſtoniſhment of all preſent, ſincerely declared all that had paſſed; that he had killed with his own hand Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, by Cambyſes's order; that that perſon who now poſſeſſed the throne was Smerdis the Magian; that he begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed, by compulſion and againſt his will. Having ſaid this, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of the tower, and broke his neck. It is eaſy to imagine, what confuſion the news of this accident occaſioned in the palace.

[l] The conſpirators, without knowing any thing of what had happened, were going to the palace at this juncture, and were ſuffered to enter unſuſpected. For the outer guard knowing them to be perſons of the firſt rank at court, did not ſo much as aſk them any queſtions. But coming near the king's apartment, and finding the officers there unwilling to give them admittance, they drew their ſcymitars, fell upon the guards, and forced their paſſage. Smerdis the Magian and his brother, who were deliberating together upon the

[i] Cap. 70—73. [k] Cap. 76—78. [l] Her. l. iii. 74—75.

* The province ſo called.

affair of Prexaſpes, hearing a ſudden uproar, ſnatched up their arms, made the beſt defence they could, and wounded ſome of the conſpirators. One of the two brothers being quickly killed, the other fled into a diſtant room to ſave himſelf was purſued thither by Gobryas and Darius. Gobryas having ſeized him, held him faſt in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius was afraid to kill him, leſt at the ſome time he ſhould kill his friend. Gobryas, judging what it was that reſtrained him, obliged him to run his ſword through the Magian's body, though he ſhould happen to kill them both together. But Darius did it with ſo much dexterity and good fortune that he killed the Magian without hurting his companion.

[m] In the ſame inſtant, with their hands all ſmeared with blood, they went out of the palace, expoſed the heads of the falſe Smerdis, and his brother Patiſithes to the eye of the people, and declared the whole impoſture. Upon this the people grew ſo enraged againſt the impoſtors, that they fell upon their whole ſect, and ſlew as many of them as they could find. For which reaſon the day, on which this was done, thenceforward became an annual feſtival among the Perſians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called *The ſlaughter of the Magi*; nor durſt any of that ſect appear in public upon that feſtival.

When the tumult and diſorder, inſeparable from ſuch an event, were appeaſed, the lords, who had ſlain the uſurper, entered into conſultation among themſelves what ſort of government was moſt proper for them to eſtabliſh. Otanes, who ſpoke firſt, declared directly againſt monarchy, ſtrongly repreſenting and exaggerating the dangers and inconveniencies, to which that form of government was liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from the abſolute and unlimited power annexed to it, by which the moſt virtuous man is almoſt unavoidably corrupted. He therefore concluded, by declaring for a popular government. Megabyſus, who next delivered his opinion, admitting all that the other had ſaid againſt a monarchical government, confuted his reaſons for a democracy. He repreſented the people as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable animal, that acts only by caprice

[m] Her. l. iii. c. 79.

and paſſion. "A king, ſaid he, knows what he does: but the people neither know nor hear any thing; and blindly give themſelves up to thoſe who know how to amuſe them." He therefore declared for an ariſtocracy, wherein the ſupreme power is confided to a few wiſe and experienced perſons. Darius, who ſpoke laſt, ſhowed the inconveniencies of an ariſtocracy, otherwiſe called oligarchy; wherein reign diſtruſt, envy, diſſenſions, and ambition, all natural ſources of faction, ſedition, and murder; for which there is uſually no other remedy than ſubmitting to one man's authority; and this is called monarchy, which of all forms of government is the moſt commendable, the ſafeſt, and the moſt advantageous; inexpreſſibly great being the good that can be done by a prince, whoſe power is equal to the goodneſs of his inclinations. "In ſhort, ſaid he, to determine this point by a fact which to me ſeems deciſive and undeniable, to what form of government is owing the preſent greatneſs of the Perſian empire? Is it not to that which I am now recommending?" Darius's opinion was embraced by the reſt of the lords; and they reſolved, that the monarchy ſhould be continued on the ſame footing whereon it had been eſtabliſhed by Cyrus.

[n] The next queſtion was to know, which of them ſhould be king, and how they ſhould proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning, by ſun-riſing on horſeback, at a certain place in the ſuburbs of the city; and he, whoſe horſe firſt neighed, ſhould be king. For the ſun being the chief deity of the Perſians, they imagined that taking this courſe, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius's groom, hearing of the agreement, made uſe of the following artifice to ſecure the crown to his maſter. He carried the night before, a mare into the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought to her his maſter's horſe. The lords aſſembling the next morning at the rendezvous, no ſooner was Darius's horſe come to the place where he had ſmelt the mare, but he fell a neighing; whereupon Darius was ſaluted king by the others, and

[n] Her. l. iii. c. 84—87.

placed on the throne. He was the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, a Perſian by birth and of the royal family of Achæmenes.

[o] The Perſian empire being thus reſtored and ſettled by the wiſdom and valour of theſe ſeven lords, they were raiſed by the new king to the higheſt dignities, and honoured with the moſt ample privileges. They had acceſs to his perſon whenever they would, and in all public affairs were the firſt to deliver their opinions. Whereas the Perſians wore their tiara or turban with the top bent backwards, except the king, who wore his erect; theſe lords had the privilege of wearing theirs with the top bent forwards, becauſe, when they attacked the Magi they had bent theirs in that manner, the better to know one another in the hurry and confuſion. From that time forwards the Perſian kings of this family always had ſeven counſellors, honoured with the ſame privilege.

Here I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of the Perſian empire reſerving the remainder of it for the following volumes.

CHAP. IV.

The Manners and Cuſtoms of the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Lydians, Medes, and Perſians.

I SHALL give in this place a joint account of the manners and cuſtoms of all theſe ſeveral nations, becauſe they agree in ſeveral points; and if I was to treat them ſeparately, I ſhould be obliged to make frequent repetitions: and that, excepting the Perſians, the ancient authors ſay very little of the manners of the other nations. I ſhall reduce what I have to ſay of them to theſe four heads.

I. Their government.
II. Their art of war.
III. Their arts and ſciences: and
IV. Their religion.

After which I ſhall lay down the cauſes of the declenſion and ruin of the great Perſian empire.

[o] Her. l. iii. c. 84—87.

ARTICLE I.

Of Government.

AFTER a ſhort account of the nature of the government of Perſia, and the manner of educating the children of their kings, I ſhall proceed to conſider theſe few things: their public council, wherein the affairs of ſtate were conſidered; the adminiſtration of juſtice; their care of their provinces; and the good order obſerved in their revenues.

SECT. I. *Their monarchical Form of Government. The Reſpect they paid their Kings. The Manner of educating their Children.*

MONARCHICAL, or regal government, as we call it, is of all others the moſt ancient, the moſt univerſal, the beſt adapted to keep the people in peace and union, and the leaſt expoſed to the revolutions and viciſſitudes incident to ſtates. For theſe reaſons the wiſeſt writers among the ancients, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Plutarch, and, before them all, Herodotus, have thought fit to prefer this form of government to all others. It is likewiſe the only form that was ever eſtabliſhed among the eaſtern nations, a republican government being utterly unknown in that part of the world.

[p] Thoſe people paid extraordinary honours to the prince on the throne, becauſe in his perſon they reſpected the character of the deity, whoſe image and vice-gerent he was with regard to them, being placed on the throne by the hands of the ſupreme governor of the world, and clothed with his authority, and power, in order to be the miniſter of his providence, and the diſpenſer of his goodneſs towards the people. In this manner did the Pagans themſelves in old times both think and ſpeak: [q] *Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice ſua fungatur.*

Theſe ſentiments are very laudable and juſt. For cer-

[p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 125. ad Princ. indoc. p. 780.
[q] Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

tainly the moſt profound reſpect and reverence are due to the ſupreme power; becauſe it cometh from God, and is entirely appointed for the good of the public: beſides, it is evident, that an authority not reſpected according to the full extent of his commiſſion, muſt thereby either become uſeleſs or at leaſt very much limited in the good effects, which ought to flow from it. But in the times of paganiſm theſe honours and homages, though juſt and reaſonable in themſelves, were often carried too far; the chriſtian being the only religion, that has known how to keep within bounds in that particular. * We honour the emperor, ſaid Tertullian in the name of all the Chriſtians; but in ſuch a manner, as is lawful for us, and proper for him; that is, as a man, who is next after God in rank and authority, from whom he has received all that he is, and whatever he has, and who knows no ſuperior but God alone. For this reaſon he calls in another place the emperor a ſecond majeſty, inferior to nothing but the firſt: [r] *Religio ſecundæ majeſtatis.*

Among the Aſſyrians, and more particularly among the Perſians, the prince uſed to be ſtyled, *The great king, the king of kings.* Two reaſons might induce thoſe princes to take that oſtentatious title. The one, becauſe their empire was formed of many conquered kingdoms, all united under one head: the other becauſe they had ſeveral kings, their vaſſals, either in their court or dependent upon them.

[s] The crown was hereditary among them, deſcending from father to ſon, and generally to the eldeſt. When an heir to the crown was born, all the empire teſtified their joy by ſacrifices, feaſts, and all manner of public rejoicings; and his birth-day was thenceforward an annual feſtival, and day of ſolemnity for all the Perſians.

[t] The manner of educating the future maſter of the empire is admired by Plato, and recommended to the Greeks as a perfect model for a prince's education.

He was never wholly committed to the care of the nurſe, who generally was a woman of mean and low condition:

[r] Apolog. c. i. p. 35. [s] Plat. in Alcib. c. l. p. 121. [t] Ibid. c. i. p. 121.

* *Colimus Imperatorem, ſic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipſi expedit; ut hominem a Deo ſecundum, et quicquid eſt a Deo conſecutum, et ſolo Deo minorem.* TERTUL. I. ad. Scap.

but from among the eunuchs, that is, the chief officers of the houſehold, ſome of the moſt approved merit and probity were choſen, to take care of the young prince's perſon and health till he was ſeven years of age, and to begin to form his manners and behaviour. He was then taken from them and put into the hands of other maſters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him to ride as ſoon as his ſtrength would permit, and to exerciſe him in hunting.

At fourteen years of age, when the mind begins to attain ſome maturity, four of the wiſeſt, and moſt virtuous men of the ſtate, were appointed to be his preceptors. The firſt, ſays Plato, taught him magic, that is, in their language, the worſhip of the gods according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaſter, the ſon of Oromaſus; he alſo inſtructed him in the principles of government. The ſecond was to accuſtom him to ſpeak truth, and to adminiſter juſtice. The third was to teach him not to be overcome by pleaſures, that he might be truly a king, and always free, maſter of himſelf and his deſires. The fourth was to fortify his courage againſt fear, which would have made him a ſlave, and to inſpire him with a noble and prudent aſſurance, ſo neceſſary for thoſe that are born to command. Each of theſe governors excelled in his way, and was eminent in that part of education aſſigned to him. One was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge in religion, and the art of governing; another for his love of truth and juſtice; this for his moderation and abſtinence from pleaſures; that for a ſuperior ſtrength of mind and uncommon intrepidity.

I do not know whether ſuch a diverſity of maſters, who, without doubt, were of different tempers, and perhaps had different intereſts in view, was proper to anſwer the end propoſed; or whether it was poſſible that four men ſhould agree together in the ſame principles, and harmoniouſly purſue the ſame end. Probably, the reaſon of having ſo many was, that they apprehended it impoſſible to find any one perſon poſſeſſed of all the qualities they judged neceſſary for giving a right education to the preſumptive heir of the crown; ſo great an idea had they, even in thoſe corrupt times, of the importance of a prince's education.

Be this as it will, all this care, as Plato remarks in the ſame place, was fruſtrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence, with which the young prince was ſurrounded; by the numerous train of attendants that paid him a ſervile ſubmiſſion; by all the appurtenances and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleaſure, and the inventing of new diverſions, ſeemed to engroſs all attention; dangers which the moſt excellent diſpoſition could never ſurmount. The corrupt manners of the nation therefore quickly debauched the prince, and drew him into the reigning pleaſures, againſt which no education is a ſufficient defence.

The education here ſpoken of by Plato, can relate only to the children of Artaxerxes, ſurnamed Longimanus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Xerxes, in whoſe time lived Alcibiades, who is introduced in the dialogue, from whence this obſervation is taken. For Plato, in another paſſage, which we ſhall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither Cyrus nor Darius ever thought of giving the princes, their ſons, a good education; and what we find in hiſtory concerning Artaxerxes Longimanus, gives us reaſon to believe that he was more careful than his predeceſſors in the point of educating his children; but was not much imitated in that reſpect by his ſucceſſors.

SECT. II. *The Public Council, wherein the Affairs of State are conſidered.*

AS abſolute as the regal authority was among the Perſians, yet was it, in ſome meaſure, kept within bounds by the eſtabliſhment of this council, appointed by the ſtate; a council, which conſiſted of ſeven of the princes or chief lords of the nation, no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom and abilities, than for their extraction. We have already ſeen the origin of this eſtabliſhment in the conſpiracy of the ſeven Perſian noblemen, who entered into an aſſociation againſt Smerdis, the Magian, and killed him.

The ſcripture relates, that Ezra was ſent into Judea, in the name, and by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his

ſeven counſellors: "[u] From before the king and his ſeven counſellors." The ſame ſcripture, a long time before this, in the reign of Darius, otherwiſe called Ahaſuerus, who ſucceeded the Magian, informs us, that theſe counſellors were all well verſed in the laws, ancient cuſtoms, and maxims of the ſtate; that they always attended the prince, who never tranſacted any thing, or determined any affair of importance without their advice.

This laſt paſſage gives room for ſome reflections, which may very much contribute to the knowledge of the genius and character of the Perſian government.

In the firſt place the king there ſpoken of, that is Darius, was one of the moſt celebrated princes that ever reigned in Perſia, and one of the moſt deſerving, on account of his wiſdom and prudence: though he had his failings. It is to him, as well as to Cyrus, that the greateſt part of thoſe excellent laws are aſcribed, which have ever ſince ſubſiſted in that country, and have been the foundation and ſtandard of their government. Now this prince, notwithſtanding his extraordinary penetration and ability, thought he ſtood in need of counſel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a number of aſſiſtants to himſelf, for the determination of affairs, would be any diſcredit to his own underſtanding: by which proceeding, he really ſhowed a ſuperiority of genius which is very uncommon, and ſuppoſes a great fund of merit. For a prince of ſlender talents, and a narrow capacity, is generally full of himſelf; and the leſs underſtanding he has, the more obſtinate and untractable he generally is. He thinks it want of reſpect, to offer to diſcover any thing to him which he does not perceive; and is affronted if you ſeem to doubt that he, who is in ſupreme power, is not the ſame in penetration and underſtanding. But Darius had a different way of thinking, and did nothing without counſel and advice: *Illorum faciebat cuncta conſilio.*

Secondly, Darius, however abſolute he was, and how jealous ſoever he might be of his prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he inſtituted that council: for the council did not at all interfere with the king's authority of ruling and commanding, which always reſides in the

[u] 1 Eſd. vii. 14.

perſon of the prince, but was confined entirely to that of reaſon, which conſiſted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. He was perſuaded that the nobleſt character of ſovereign power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its origin, nor deviated from its end, is to * govern by the laws; to make them the rule of his will and deſire; and to think nothing allowable for him, which they prohibit.

In the third place, this council, which every where accompanied the king, was a perpetual ſtanding council, conſiſting of the greateſt men, and the beſt heads in the kingdom; who, under the direction of the ſovereign, and always with a dependency upon him, were in a manner the ſource of public order, and the principle of all the wiſe regulations and tranſactions at home and abroad. Upon this council the king diſcharged himſelf of ſeveral weighty cares, which he muſt otherwiſe have been overburdened with; and by them he likewiſe executed whatever had been reſolved on. It was by means of this ſtanding council, that the great maxims of the ſtate were preſerved; the knowledge of its true intereſt perpetuated; affairs carried on with harmony and order; and innovations, errors, and overſights, prevented. For in a public and general council things are diſcuſſed by unſuſpected perſons; all the miniſters are mutual inſpectors of one another; all their knowledge and experience in public matters are united together; and they all become equally capable of every part of the adminiſtration; becauſe though as to the executive part, they move only in one particular ſphere of buſineſs; yet they are obliged to inform themſelves in all affairs relating to the public, that they may be able to deliver their opinions in a judicious manner.

The fourth and laſt reflection I have to make on this head is, that we find it mentioned in ſcripture, that the perſons of which this council conſiſted, were thoroughly acquainted with the cuſtoms, laws, maxims, and rights of the kingdom.

Two things, which as the ſcriptures inform us, were practiſed by the Perſians, might very much contribute to

* *Regimur a te, et ſubjecti tibi, ſed quemadmodum legibus, ſumus.* PLIN. Paneg. Traj.

inſtruct the king and his council in the methods of governing with wiſdom and prudence. [x] The firſt was their having public regiſters, wherein all the prince's edicts and ordinances, all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours conferred upon particular perſons, were entered and recorded. [y] The ſecond was, the annals of the kingdom, in which all the events of former reigns, all reſolutions taken, regulations eſtabliſhed, and ſervices done by any particular perſons, were exactly entered. Theſe annals were carefully preſerved, and frequently peruſed both by the kings and the miniſters, that they might acquaint themſelves with times paſt; might have a true and clear idea of the ſtate of the kingdom; avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain conduct; maintain an uniformity in the courſe of affairs; and, in ſhort, acquire ſuch light from the peruſal of theſe books, as ſhould qualify them to govern the ſtate with wiſdom.

SECT. III. *The Adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

TO be king, and to be judge, is but one and the ſame thing. The throne is a tribunal, and the ſovereign power is the higheſt authority for adminiſtering juſtice. "God hath made you king over his people," ſaid the queen of Sheba to Solomon, "to the end that you ſhould judge them, and render juſtice and judgment unto them. God hath made every thing ſubject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. His deſign, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable attachment to juſtice. That they might not excuſe themſelves on pretence of inability or want of power, he has delegated his whole power unto them; he has made them maſters of all the means requiſite for the reſtraining injuſtice and oppreſſion, that iniquity ſhould tremble in their preſence, and be incapable of hurting any perſons whatſoever.

But what is that juſtice which God hath put into the hands of kings, and whereof he hath made them depoſitaries? Why, it is nothing elſe but order; and order conſiſts in

[x] 1 Eſ. v. 17, and vi. 2. [y] Ibid. iv. 15. and Eſth. vi. 1.

obſerving an univerſal equity, and that force do not uſurp the place of law; that one man's property be not expoſed to the violence of another; that the common band of ſociety be not broken; that artifice and fraud may not prevail over innocence and ſimplicity; that all things may reſt in peace under the protection of the laws; and the weakeſt among the people may find his ſanctuary in the public authority.

[z] We learn from Joſephus, that the kings of Perſia uſed to adminiſter juſtice in their own perſons. And it was to qualify them for the due diſcharge of this duty, that care was taken to have them inſtructed, from their tendereſt youth, in the knowledge of the laws of their country; and that in their public ſchools, as we have already mentioned in the hiſtory of Cyrus, they were taught equity and juſtice, in the manner as rhetoric and philoſophy are taught in other places.

Theſe are the great and eſſential duties of the regal dignity. Indeed it is reaſonable, and abſolutely neceſſary, that the prince be aſſiſted in the execution of that auguſt function, as he is in others: but to be aſſiſted is not to be deprived, or diſpoſſeſſed. He continues judge, as long as he continues king. Though he communicates his authority, yet does he not reſign or divide it. It is therefore abſolutely neceſſary for him to beſtow ſome time upon the ſtudy of equity and juſtice; not that he need enter into the whole detail of particular laws, but only acquaint himſelf with the principal rules and maxims of the law of his country, that he may be capable of doing juſtice, and of ſpeaking wiſely upon important points. For this reaſon the kings of Perſia never aſcended the throne, till they had been for ſome time under the care and inſtruction of the Magi, who were to teach them that ſcience whereof they were the only maſters and profeſſors, as well as of theology.

Now ſince to the ſovereign alone is committed the right of adminiſtering juſtice; and that within his dominions there is no other power of adminiſtering it, than what is delegated by him; how greatly does it behove him to take care into what hands he commits a part of ſo great a truſt; to know whether thoſe he places ſo near the throne are

[z] Antiq. Judaic. l. xi. c. 3.

worthy to partake of such a prerogative; and industriously to keep all such at a distance from it as he judges unworthy? We find that in Persia, their kings were extremely careful to have justice rendered with integrity and impartiality. [a] One of their royal judges (for so they called them) having suffered himself to be corrupted by bribery, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin put upon the seat where he used to sit and give judgment, and where his son, who succeeded him in his office, was to sit, that the very place, whence he gave judgment, should remind him of his own duty.

[b] Their ordinary judges were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years; so that a man could not exercise the office of a judge before that age, the Persians being of opinion, that too much maturity could not be required in an employment which disposed of the fortunes, reputations, and lives of their fellow citizens.

[c] Amongst them, it was not lawful either for a private person to put any of his slaves to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; because it might rather be considered as an effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind.

The Persians thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil, the merits of the offender as well as his demerits, into the scales of justice: nor was it just, in their opinion, that one single crime should obliterate all the good actions a man had done during his life. [d] Upon this principle it was, that Darius, having condemned a judge to death for some prevarication in his office, and afterwards calling to mind the important services he had rendered both to the state and royal family, revoked the sentence at the very moment of its going to be executed, [e] and acknowledged, that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But one important and essential rule which they observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn

[a] Herod. l. v. c. 25. [b] Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 7.
[c] Herod. l. i. c. 137. [d] Herod. l. vii c. 194.
[e] Γνους ως ταχυτεοω αυτος, σοφυτρεα εργασμενος ειη, ελεσι.

any perſon without bringing his accuſer to his face, and without giving him time, and all other means neceſſary, for defending himſelf againſt the articles laid to his charge: and in the ſecond place, if the perſon accuſed was found innocent, to inflict the very ſame puniſhment upon the accuſer, as the other was to have ſuffered, had he been found guilty. [f] Artaxerxes gave a fine example of the juſt rigour which ought to be exerciſed on ſuch occaſions. One of the king's favourites, ambitious of getting a place poſſeſſed by one of his beſt officers, endeavoured to make the king ſuſpect the fidelity of that officer; and to that end, ſent informations to court full of calumnies againſt him, perſuading himſelf that the king, from the great credit he had with his majeſty, would believe the thing upon his bare word, without further examination. For ſuch is the general character of calumniators. They are afraid of evidence and light; they make it their buſineſs to ſhut out the innocent from all acceſs to the prince, and thereby put it out of their power to vindicate themſelves. The officer was impriſoned; but he deſired of the king, before he was condemned, that his cauſe might be heard, and his accuſers ordered to produce their evidence againſt him. The king did ſo: and as there was no proof but the letters which his enemy had writ againſt him, he was cleared, and his innocence fully juſtified by the three commiſſioners that ſat upon his trial; all the king's indignation fell upon the perfidious accuſer, who had thus attempted to abuſe the favour and confidence of his royal maſter. This prince, who was very wiſe, and knew that one of the true ſigns of a prudent government was to have the ſubjects ſtand more in fear of the * laws, than of informers, would have thought, that to have acted otherwiſe than he did, would have been a direct violation of the moſt common rules of † natural equity and humanity; it would have been opening a door to envy, hatred, calumny, and revenge; it would have been expoſing the honeſt ſimplicity of good and faithful ſubjects to the cruel malice of deteſtable informers, and arming theſe with the ſword of public

[f] Diod. l. xv. p. 333—336.

* *Non jam delatores, ſed leges timenter.* PLIN. in Paneg. Traj.

† *Princeps, qui delatores non caſtigat, irritat.* SUETON. in vi a Demit. c. ix.

authority: in a word, it would have been diveſting the throne of the moſt noble privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a ſanctuary for innocence and juſtice, againſt violence and calumny.

[g] There is upon record a ſtill more memorable example of firmneſs and love of juſtice, in another king of Perſia, before Artaxerxes; in him, I mean, whom the ſcripture calls Ahaſuerus, and who is thought to be the ſame as Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, from whom Haman had, by his earneſt ſolicitations, extorted that fatal edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole race of the Jews throughout the Perſian empire in one day. When God had, by the means of Eſther, opened his eyes, he made haſte to make amends for his fault, not only by revoking his edict, and inflicting an exemplary puniſhment upon the impoſtor who had deceived him; but, which is more, by a public acknowledgment of his error, which ſhould be a pattern to all ages, and to all princes, and teach them, that far from debaſing their dignity, or weakening their authority thereby, they procure them the more reſpect. After declaring, that it is but too common for calumniators to impoſe, by their miſrepreſentations and craftineſs, on the goodneſs of their princes, whom their natural ſincerity induces to judge favourably of others; he is not aſhamed to acknowledge, that he had been ſo unhappy as to ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced by ſuch means againſt the Jews, who were his faithful ſubjects, and the children of the moſt high God, through whoſe goodneſs he and his anceſtors had attained to the throne.

[h] The Perſians were not only enemies of injuſtice, as we have now ſhown; but alſo abhorred lying, which always was deemed amongſt them as a mean and infamous vice. What they eſteemed moſt pitiful, next to lying, was to live upon truſt, or by borrowing. Such a kind of life ſeemed to them idle, ignominious, ſervile, and the more deſpicable, becauſe it makes people liars.

[g] Eſth. c. iii. &c. [h] Herod. l. i. c. 138.

SECT. IV. *The Care of the Provinces.*

IT ſeems to be no difficult matter to maintain good order in the metropolis of a kingdom, where the conduct of the magiſtrates and judges is nearly inſpected; and the very ſight of the throne is capable of keeping the ſubjects in awe. The caſe is otherwiſe with reſpect to the provinces, where the diſtance from the ſovereign, and the hopes of impunity, may occaſion many miſdemeanours on the part of the magiſtrates and officers, as well as great licentiouſneſs and diſorder on that of the people. In this the Perſian policy exerted itſelf with the greateſt care; and, we may alſo ſay with the greateſt ſucceſs.

The Perſian empire was divided into * a hundred and twenty-ſeven governments, the governors whereof were called ſatrapæ. Over them were appointed three principal miniſters, who inſpected their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the affairs of their ſeveral provinces, and who were afterwards to make their report of the ſame to the king. It was Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus, in the name of his uncle, who put the government of the empire into this excellent method. Theſe ſatrapæ were, by the very deſign of their office, each in his reſpective diſtrict, to have the ſame care and regard for the intereſts of the people, as for thoſe of the prince: for it was a maxim with Cyrus, that no difference ought to be admitted between theſe two intereſts, which are neceſſarily linked together; ſince neither the people can be happy, unleſs the prince is powerful, and in a condition to defend them; nor the prince truly powerful unleſs his people be happy.

Theſe ſatrapæ being the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom, Cyrus aſſigned them certain funds and revenues proportionable to their ſtation and the importance of their employments. He was willing they ſhould live nobly in their reſpective provinces, that they might gain the reſpect of the nobility and common people within their juriſdiction; and for that reaſon their retinue, their equipage, and their

* Authors differ about the number of governments or provinces. XENOPH. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 229, 232.

table, ſhould be anſwerable to their dignity, yet without exceeding the bounds of prudence and moderation. He himſelf was their model in this reſpect, as he deſired they ſhould be to all perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank within the extent of their authority: ſo that the ſame order which reigned in the prince's court might likewiſe proportionably be obſerved in the courts of the ſatrapæ, and in the noblemen's families. And to prevent as far as poſſible, all abuſes, which might be made of ſo extenſive an authority as that of the ſatrapæ, the king reſerved to himſelf alone the nomination of them, and cauſed the governors of places, the commanders of the troops and other ſuch like officers, to depend immediately upon the prince himſelf; from whom alone they were to receive their orders and inſtructions, that if the ſatrapæ were inclined to abuſe their power, they might be ſenſible thoſe officers were ſo many overſeers and cenſors of their conduct. And to make this correſpondence by letters the more ſure and expeditious, the king cauſed poſt-houſes to be erected throughout all the empire, and appointed couriers, who travelled night and day, and made wonderful diſpatch. But I ſhall ſpeak more particularly on this article at the end of this ſection, that I may not break in upon the matter in hand.

Notwithſtanding all this, the care of the provinces was not entirely left to the ſatrapæ and governors: the king himſelf took cognizance of them in his own perſon, being perſuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to govern by halves. An officer of the houſehold was ordered to repeat theſe words, to the king every morning when he waked; "[i] Riſe, Sir, and think of diſcharging the duties, for which Oromaſdes has placed you upon the throne." Oromaſdes was the principal god, anciently worſhipped by the Perſians. A good prince, ſays Plutarch in the account he gives of this cuſtom, has no occaſion for an officer to give him this daily admonition: his own heart, and the love he has for his people are ſufficient monitors.

[k] The king of Perſia thought himſelf obliged, according to the ancient cuſtom eſtabliſhed in that country, from time to time, perſonally to viſit all the provinces of his empire;

[i] Plut. ad Princ. indoct. p. 780. [k] Xenoph. in Oeconom. p. 228.

being perſuaded, as Pliny ſays of Trajan, that the moſt ſolid glory, and the moſt exquiſite pleaſure a good prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let the people ſee their common father; to * reconcile the diſſentions and mutual animoſities of rival cities; to calm commotions or ſeditions among the people, and that not ſo much by the dint of power and ſeverity, as by reaſon and temper; to prevent injuſtice and oppreſſion in magiſtrates; and cancel and reverſe whatever has been decreed againſt law and equity: in a word, like a beneficent planet, to ſhed his ſalutary influences univerſally, or rather like a kind of divinity, to be preſent every where, to ſee, to hear, and know every thing, without rejecting any man's petition or complaint.

When the king was not able to viſit the provinces himſelf, he ſent, in his ſtead, ſome of the greateſt men of the kingdom, ſuch as were the moſt eminent for wiſdom and virtue. Theſe perſons were generally called the eyes and ears of the prince, becauſe by their means he ſaw and was informed of every thing. When theſe or any other of his great miniſters, or the members of his council, were ſaid to be the eyes and ears of the prince, it was at once an admonition to the king, that he had his miniſters, as we have the organs of our ſenſes, not that he ſhould lie ſtill and be idle, but act by their means; and to the miniſters that they ought not to act for themſelves, but for the king their head, and for the advantage of the whole body politic.

The particular detail of affairs, which the king or the commiſſioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of admiration, and ſhows how well they underſtood in thoſe days, wherein the wiſdom and ability of governors conſiſt. The attention of the king and his miniſters was not only employed upon great objects, as, war, the revenue, juſtice, and commerce; but matters of leſs importance, as the ſecurity and beauty of towns and cities, the convenient habitation of the inhabitants, the reparation of high reads, bridges, cauſeways, the keeping of woods and foreſts from being laid

* *Reconciliare æmulas civitates, tumenteſque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compeſcere, intercedere iniquitatibus magiſtratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit; poſtremo velociſſimi ſideris more omnia inviſere omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum, ſtatim, velut numen, adeſſe et adſiſtere.* PLIN. in. Panegyr. Traj.

waſte and deſtroyed, and above all the improvement of agriculture, and the encouraging and promoting all ſorts of trades, even to the loweſt and meaneſt of handicraft employments; every thing in ſhort came within the ſphere of their policy, and was thought to deſerve their care and inſpection. And, indeed whatever belongs to the ſubjects, as well as the ſubjects themſelves, is a part of the truſt committed to the head of the commonwealth, and is entitled to his care, concern, and activity. His love for the commonweal is univerſal. * It extends itſelf to all matters, and takes in every thing: it is the ſupport of private perſons, as well as of the public. Every province, every city, every family, has a place in his heart and affections. Every thing in the kingdom has a relation to, and concerns him; every thing challenges his attention and regard.

[1] I have already ſaid, that agriculture was one of the main things, on which the Perſians beſtowed their care and attention. Indeed, one of the prince's firſt cares was to make huſbandry flouriſh; and thoſe ſatrapæ, whoſe provinces were the beſt cultivated, had the moſt of his favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military part of the government; ſo were there likewiſe for the inſpecting their rural labours and economy. For theſe two employments had a near relation; the buſineſs of the one being to guard the country, and the other to cultivate it. The prince protected both almoſt with the ſame degree of affection; becauſe both concurred and were equally neceſſary for the public good. For if the lands cannot be cultivated without the aid and protection of armies for their defence and ſecurity; ſo neither can the ſoldiers on the other hand be fed and maintained without the labour of the huſbandmen who cultivate the ground. It was with good reaſon therefore that the prince, ſince it was impoſſible for himſelf to ſee into every thing, cauſed an exact account to be given him, how every province and canton was cultivated; that he might know whether each country brought forth abundantly ſuch fruits as it was capable of producing; that he deſcended ſo

[1] Xenoph. Oecon. p. 827—830.

* *Is, cui curæ ſunt univerſa, nullam non reip. partem tanquam ſui nutrit.* SENEC. lib. de Clem. c. xiii.

far into thoſe particulars, as Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the Younger, as to inform himſelf, whether the private gardens of his ſubjects were well kept and yielded plenty of fruit; that he rewarded the ſuperintendents and overſeers, whoſe provinces or cantons were the beſt cultivated, and puniſhed the lazineſs and negligence of thoſe idle perſons who did not labour and improve their grounds. Such a care as this is by no means unworthy of a king, as it naturally tends to propagate riches and plenty throughout his kingdom, and to beget a ſpirit of induſtry among his ſubjects, which is the ſureſt means of preventing that increaſe of drones and idle fellows, that are ſuch a burden upon the public, and a diſhonour to the ſtate.

[m] Xenophon, in the next paſſage to this I have now cited, puts into the mouth of Socrates, who is introduced as a ſpeaker therein, a very noble encomium upon agriculture, which he repreſents as the employment in the world the moſt worthy of men's application, the moſt ancient, and the moſt ſuitable to their nature; as the common nurſe of perſons of all ages and conditions of life; as the ſource of health, ſtrength, plenty, riches, and a thouſand ſober delights and honeſt pleaſures; as the miſtreſs and ſchool of ſobriety, temperance, juſtice, religion; and, in a word, of all kinds of virtues both civil and military. After which he relates the fine ſaying of Lyſander the Lacedæmonian, who, as he was walking at Sardis with the younger Cyrus, hearing from that prince's own mouth, that he himſelf had planted ſeveral of the trees he was looking at, made the following anſwer: that the world had reaſon to extol the happineſs of Cyrus, whoſe virtue was as eminent as his fortune; and who, in the midſt of the greateſt affluence, ſplendor, and magnificence, had yet preſerved a taſte ſo pure and ſo conformable to right reaſon. [n] *Cum Cyrus reſpondiſſet, Ego iſta ſum dimenſus, mei ſunt ordines, mea deſcriptio, multæ etiam iſtarum arborum mea manu ſunt ſatæ: tum Lyſandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Perſicum multo auro multiſque gemmis, dixiſſe:* *RECTE VERO

[m] Xenoph. Oecon. p. 830—833. [n] Cic. de ſenect. num. 50.

* In the original Greek there is ſtill a greater energy. Δικαιως μοι δοκεις Κυρε, ευδαιμων ειναι· αξιος ως ων ανηρ ευδαιμονεις. Thou art worthy, Cyrus of

TE, CYRE, BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much is it to be wiſhed, that our young nobility, who, in the time of peace, do not know how to employ themſelves, had the like taſte for planting and agriculture, which ſurely after ſuch an example as that of Cyrus, ſhould be thought no diſhonour to their quality, eſpecially if they would conſider, that for ſeveral ages it was the conſtant employment of the braveſt and moſt warlike people in the world! The reader may eaſily perceive that I mean the ancient Romans.

The Invention of Poſts and Couriers.

[o] I promiſed to give ſome account in this place of the invention of poſts and couriers. This invention is aſcribed to Cyrus; nor indeed can I find any mention of ſuch an eſtabliſhment before his time. As the Perſian empire, after its laſt conqueſts, was of a vaſt extent, and Cyrus required, that all his governors of provinces, and his chief commanders of his troops, ſhould write to him and give an exact account of every thing that paſſed in their ſeveral diſtricts and armies, in order to render that correſpondence the more ſure and expeditious, and to put himſelf into a condition of receiving ſpeedy intelligence of all occurrences and affairs, and of ſending his orders thereupon with expedition, he cauſed poſt-houſes to be built, and meſſengers to be appointed in every province. Having computed how far a good horſe, with a briſk rider, could go in a day, without being ſpoiled, he had ſtables built in proportion at equal diſtances from each other, and had them furniſhed with horſes, and grooms to take care of them. At each of theſe places he likewiſe appointed a poſt-maſter, to receive the packets from the couriers as they arrived, and give them to others; and to take the horſes that performed their ſtage, and to find freſh ones. Thus the poſt went continually night and day, with extraordinary ſpeed: nor did either rain or ſnow, heat or cold, or any inclemency of the ſeaſon, interrupt its pro-

[o] Xen. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232.

of that happineſs thou art poſſeſſed of; becauſe with all thy affluence and proſperity thou art alſo virtuous.

greſs. [p] Herodotus ſpeaks of the ſame ſort of couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

Theſe couriers were called in the Perſian language, Αγγαροι*. The ſuperintendency of the poſts became a conſiderable employment. [q] Darius, the laſt king of the ancient Perſians, had it before he came to the crown. Xenophon takes notice, that this eſtabliſhment ſubſiſted in his time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the book of Eſther, concerning the edict publiſhed by Ahaſuerus in favour of the Jews: which edict was carried through that vaſt empire with a rapidity that would have been impoſſible, without theſe poſts erected by Cyrus.

The world is juſtly ſurpriſed to find, that this eſtabliſhment of poſts and couriers, firſt invented in the eaſt by Cyrus, and continued ſo for many ages afterwards by his ſucceſſors, eſpecially conſidering the uſefulneſs of it to a government, ſhould never be imitated in the weſt, particularly by people ſo expert in politics as the Greeks and the Romans.

It is more aſtoniſhing, that where this invention was put in execution, it was not further improved, and that the uſe of it was confined only to affairs of ſtate, without conſidering the many advantages the public might have reaped from it, by facilitating a mutual correſpondence, as well as the buſineſs of merchants and tradeſmen of all kinds; by the expedition it would have procured to the affairs of private perſons; the diſpatch of journeys which required haſte; the eaſy communication between families, cities, and provinces; and by the ſafety and conveniency of remitting money from one country to another. It is well known what a difficulty people at a diſtance had then, and for many ages afterwards, to communicate any news, or to treat of affairs together; being obliged either to ſend a ſervant on purpoſe, which could not be done without great charge and loſs of time; or

[p] Her. l. viii. c. 98.

[q] Plut. i. de fortun. Alex. p. 326. & in vit. Alex. p. 674. ubi pro Ασγανδης legendum Αραγδης.

* Αγγαροι is derived from a word which in that language ſignifies a ſervice rendered by compulſion. It is from thence the Greeks borrowed their verb αγγαρευειν *compellere, cogere* and the Latins, *angariare*. According to Suidas they were likewiſe called *aſtenda*.

to wait for the departure of ſome other perſon, that was going into the province or country, whither they had letters to ſend; which method was liable to numberleſs diſappointments, accidents, and delays.

At preſent we enjoy this general conveniency at a ſmall expence; but we do not thoroughly conſider the advantage of it; the want whereof would make us fully ſenſible of our happineſs in this reſpect. France is indebted for it to the univerſity of Paris, which I cannot forbear obſerving here: I hope the reader will excuſe the digreſſion. The univerſity of Paris, being formerly the only one in the kingdom, and having great numbers of ſcholars reſorting to her from all parts of the kingdom, did, for their ſakes and conveniency, eſtabliſh meſſengers, whoſe buſineſs was, not only to bring clothes, ſilver, and gold for the ſtudents, but likewiſe to carry bags of law proceedings, informations, and inqueſts; to conduct all ſorts of perſons, indifferently, to or from Paris, finding them both horſes and diet; as alſo to carry letters, parcels, and packets for the public as well as the univerſity. In the univerſity-regiſters of the four nations, as they are called, of the faculty of arts, theſe meſſengers are often ſtyled *Nuntii volantes*, to ſignify the great ſpeed and diſpatch they were obliged to make.

The ſtate then is indebted to the univerſity of Paris for the invention and eſtabliſhment of theſe meſſengers and letter-carriers. And it was at her own charge and expence that ſhe erected theſe offices; to the ſatisfaction both of our kings and the public. She has moreover maintained and ſupported them ſince the year 1576, againſt all the various attempts of the farmers, which has coſt her immenſe ſums. For there never were any ordinary royal meſſengers, till Henry III. firſt eſtabliſhed them in the year 1576, by his edict of November, appointing them in the ſame cities as the univerſity had theirs in, and granting them the ſame rights and privileges, as the kings, his predeceſſors, had granted the meſſengers of the univerſity.

The univerſity never had any other fund, or ſupport, than the profits ariſing from the poſt-office. And it is upon the foundation of the ſame revenue, that the late king, Lewis XV. by his decree of the council of ſtate, of the 14th

of April 1719, and by his letters-patent, bearing the ſame date, regiſtered in parliament, and in the chamber of accompts, has ordained that, in all the colleges of the ſaid univerſity, the ſtudents ſhall be taught gratis; and has to that end, for the time to come, appropriated to the univerſity an eight-and-twentieth part of the revenue ariſing from the general leaſe or farm of the poſts and meſſengers of France; which eight-and-twentieth part amounted that year to the ſum of one hundred and eighty-four thouſand livres, or thereabouts*.

It is not therefore without reaſon, that the univerſity, to whom this regulation has reſtored a part of her ancient luſtre, reckons Lewis XV. as a kind of new founder, whoſe bounty has at length delivered her from the unhappy and ſhameful neceſſity of receiving wages for her labours; which in ſome meaſure diſhonoured the dignity of her profeſſion, as it was contrary to that noble, diſintereſted ſpirit, which becomes it. And indeed, the labours of maſters and profeſſors, who inſtruct others, ought not to be given for nothing; but neither ought it to be ſold. [r] *Nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.*

SECT. V. *Adminiſtration of the Revenues.*

THE prince is the ſword and buckler of the ſtate; by him is the peace and tranquillity thereof ſecured. But to enable him for theſe ends, he has occaſion for arms, ſoldiers, arſenals, fortified towns, and ſhips; and all theſe things require great expences. It is moreover juſt and reaſonable, that the king have wherewithal to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and the majeſty of empire; as alſo to procure reverence and reſpect to his perſon and authority. Theſe are the two principal reaſons, that have given occaſion for the exacting of tribute and impoſition of taxes. As the public advantage, and the neceſſity of defraying the expences of the ſtate, have been the firſt cauſes of theſe burthens; ſo ought they likewiſe to be the conſtant ſtandard of their uſe. Nor is there any thing in the world more juſt

[r] Quint. l. xii. c. 7.

* About 8500l. ſterl.

and reaſonable than ſuch impoſitions; ſince every private perſon ought to think himſelf very happy, that he can purchaſe his peace and ſecurity at the expence of ſo ſlender a contribution.

[s] The revenues of the Perſian kings conſiſted partly in monies impoſed upon the people, and partly in their being furniſhed with ſeveral of the products of the earth in kind; as corn, and other proviſions, forage, horſes, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. [t] Strabo relates, that the ſatrapa of Armenia ſent regularly every year to the king of Perſia, his maſter, twenty thouſand young colts. By this we may form a judgment of the other levies in the ſeveral provinces. But we are to conſider that the tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations: for the natural ſubjects, that is, the Perſians were exempt from all impoſitions. Nor was the cuſtom of impoſing taxes, and of determining the ſums each province was yearly to pay, introduced till the reign of Darius, at which time, the pecuniary impoſitions, as near as we can judge from the computation made by Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted to near forty-four millions French money *.

[u] The place wherein was kept the public treaſure was called in the Perſian language Gaza. There were treaſures of this kind at Suſa, at Perſepolis, at Parſagada, at Damaſcus, and other cities. The gold and ſilver were there kept in ingots, and coined into money, according as the king had occaſion. The money, chiefly uſed by the Perſians, was of gold; and called *Daricus*, from the name of † Darius, who firſt cauſed them to be coined, with his image on one ſide, and an archer on the reverſe. The Daric is ſometimes alſo called *Stater aureus*, becauſe the weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two drachms of gold, which were equivalent to twenty drachms of ſilver, and conſequently were worth ten livres of French money.

[s] Her. l. iii. c. 89—97. [t] Ibid. xi. p. 530. [u] Cur. l. iii. c. 12.

* About two millions ſterling.

† Darius the Mede, otherwiſe called Cyaxares, is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt who cauſed this money to be coined.

[x] Beſides theſe tributes, which were paid in money, there was another contribution made in kind, by furniſhing victuals and proviſions for the king's table and houſehold, grain, forage, and other neceſſaries for the ſubſtence of his armies, and horſes for the remounting of his cavalry. This contribution was impoſed upon the ſix-ſcore ſatrapies, or provinces, each of them furniſhing ſuch a part as they were ſeverally taxed at. Herodotus obſerves, that the province of Babylon, the largeſt and wealthieſt of them all, did alone furniſh the whole contribution for the ſpace of four months, and conſequently bore a third part of the burden of the whole impoſition, whilſt all the reſt of Aſia together did but contribute the other two thirds.

By what has been already ſaid on this ſubject; we ſee the kings of Perſia did not exact all their taxes and impoſitions in money, but were content to levy a part of them in money, and to take the reſt in ſuch products and commodities as the ſeveral provinces afforded; which is a proof of the great wiſdom, moderation, and humanity of the Perſian government. Without doubt they had obſerved how difficult it often is for the people, eſpecially in countries at a diſtance from commerce, to convert their goods into money without ſuffering great loſſes; whereas nothing can tend ſo much to the rendering of taxes eaſy, and to ſhelter the people from vexation and trouble, as well as expence, as the taking in payment from each country ſuch fruits and commodities as that country produceth; by which means the contribution becomes eaſy, natural, and equitable.

[y] There were likewiſe certain cantons aſſigned and ſet apart for the maintaining of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil, and ſo on for the reſt of her veſtments: and theſe cantons, which were of great extent, ſince one of them contained as much ground as a man could walk over in a day; theſe cantons, I ſay, took their names from their particular uſe, or part of the garments to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly called, one the queen's girdle, another the queen's veil, and ſo on. In Plato's time, the ſame cuſtom continued among the Perſians.

[x] Her. l. iii. c. 91—97. et l. i. c. 192. [y] Plut. in Alcib. c. i. p. 183.

[z] The way of the king's giving penſions in thoſe days to ſuch perſons as he had a mind to gratify, was exactly like what I have obſerved concerning the queen. We read that the king of Perſia aſſigned the revenue of four cities to Themiſtocles; one of which to ſupply him with wine, another with bread, the third with meats for his table, and the fourth with his clothes and furniture. [a] Before that time, Cyrus had acted in the ſame manner with Pytharchus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a particular conſideration, and to whom he gave the revenue of ſeven cities. In following times, we find many inſtances of a like nature.

ARTICLE II.

Of their War.

THE people of Aſia in general were naturally of a warlike diſpoſition, and did not want courage; but in time they all grew effeminate through luxury and pleaſure. When I ſay all, I muſt be underſtood to except the Perſians, who even before Cyrus, as well as in his reign, had the reputation of being a people of a very military genius. The ſituation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one reaſon of their hard and frugal manner of living; which is a thing of no little importance for the forming of good ſoldiers. But the good education which the Perſians gave their youth, was the chief cauſe of the courage and martial ſpirit of that people.

With reſpect therefore to the manners, and particularly to the article which I am now treating of, we muſt make ſome diſtinction between the different nations of Aſia. So that in the following account of military affairs, what perfection and excellence you find in the rules and principles of war, is to be applied only to the Perſians, as they were in Cyrus's reign; the reſt belongs to the other nations of Aſia, the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Perſians likewiſe after they had degenerated from their ancient valour, which happened not long after Cyrus, as will be ſhown in the ſequel.

[z] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 127. [a] Athen. l. i. p. 30.

I. *Their Entrance into the Service, or into Military Diſcipline.*

[b] The Perſians were trained up to the ſervice from their tender years, by paſſing through different exerciſes. Generally ſpeaking, they ſerved in the armies, from the age of twenty to fifty years. And whether they were in peace or war, they always wore ſwords as our gentlemen do, which was never practiſed among the Greeks or the Romans. They were obliged to liſt themſelves at the time appointed, and it was eſteemed a crime to deſire to be diſpenſed with in that reſpect, as will be ſeen hereafter, by the cruel treatment given by Darius and Xerxes [c] to two young noblemen, whoſe fathers had deſired, as a favour, that their ſons might be permitted to ſtay at home, for a comfort to them in their old age.

[d] Herodotus ſpeaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, which were called immortal, becauſe this body, which conſiſted of ten thouſand, perpetually ſubſiſted and was always complete; for as ſoon as any of the men died, another was immediately put into his place. The eſtabliſhment of this body probably began with the ten thouſand men ſent for by Cyrus out of Perſia to be his guard. They were diſtinguiſhed from all the other troops by the richneſs of their armour, and ſtill more by their ſingular courage. [e] Quintus Curtius mentions alſo this body of men, and another body beſides, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand, deſigned in like manner to be a guard to the king's perſon: the latter were called Doryphori, or the Lancers.

II. *Their Armour.*

The ordinary arms of the Perſians were a ſabre, or ſcymitar, *acinaces*, as it is called in Latin; a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right ſide; a javelin, or half-pike, having a ſharp-pointed iron at the end.

It ſeems that they carried two javelins, or lances, one to fling, and the other to fight with. They made great uſe of

[b] Strab. l. xv. p. 734. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. ſub finem.
[c] Herod. l. iv. et vi. Sen. de Ira, l. iii. c. 16, et 17.
[d] Lib. vii. c. 23. [e] Lib. iii. c. 3.

the bow, and of the quiver in which they carried their arrows. The ſling was not unknown amongſt them: but they did not ſet much value upon it.

It appears from ſeveral paſſages in ancient authors, that the Perſians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called tiaras; this is particularly ſaid of Cyrus the younger, [f] and of his army. And yet the ſame authors, in other places, make mention of their helmets; from whence we muſt conclude that their cuſtom had changed according to the times.

The foot for the moſt part wore cuiraſſes made of braſs, which were ſo artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were no impediment to the motion and agility of their limbs; no more than the vambraces, or other pieces of armour, which covered the arms, thighs, and legs of the horſemen. Their horſes themſelves for the moſt part had their faces, breaſts, and flanks covered with braſs. Theſe were what are called *equi cataphracti*, barbed horſes.

Authors differ very much about the form and faſhion of their ſhields. At firſt they made uſe of very ſmall and light ones; made only of twigs, of oſier, *gerra*. But it appears from ſeveral paſſages, that they had alſo ſhields of braſs, which were of a great length.

We have already obſerved, that in the firſt ages the light armed ſoldiers, that is, the archers, ſlingers, &c. compoſed the bulk of the armies amongſt the Perſians and Medes. Cyrus, who had found by experience that ſuch troops were only fit for ſkirmiſhing, or fighting at a diſtance, and who thought it moſt advantageous to come directly to cloſe fight; he, I ſay, for theſe reaſons, made a change in his army, and reduced thoſe light-armed troops to a very few, arming the far greater number at all points, like the reſt of the army.

III. *Chariots armed with Scythes.*

[g] Cyrus introduced a conſiderable change likewiſe with reſpect to the chariots of war. Theſe had been in uſe a long while before his time, as appears both from Homer and the ſacred writings. Theſe chariots had only two wheels, and

[f] De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263. [g] Xen. Cyr. l. vi. p. 152.

were generally drawn by four horſes abreaſt with two men in each; one of diſtinguiſhed birth and valour, who fought, and the other only for driving the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expenſive, was but of little ſervice; ſince, for the equipping of three hundred chariots, were required twelve hundred horſes and ſix hundred men, of which there were but three hundred who really fought, the other three hundred, though all men of merit and diſtinction, and capable of doing great ſervice, if otherwiſe employed, ſerving only as charioteers or drivers. To remedy this inconvenience, he altered the form of the chariots, and doubled the number of the fighting-men that rode in them, by putting the drivers into a condition to fight, as well as the others.

He cauſed the wheels of the chariots to be made ſtronger, that they ſhould not be ſo eaſily broken; and their axletrees to be made longer, to make them the more firm and ſteady. At each end of the axletree he cauſed ſcythes to be faſtened that were three feet long, and placed horizontally; and cauſed other ſcythes to be fixed under the ſame axletree with their edges turned to the ground, that they might cut in pieces men or horſes, or whatever the impetuous violence of the chariots ſhould overturn. [h] It appears from ſeveral paſſages in authors, that in after-times, beſides all this, they added two long iron ſpikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce whatever came in the way; and that they armed the hinder part of the chariot with ſeveral rows of ſharp knives to hinder any one from mounting behind.

Theſe chariots were in uſe for many ages in all the eaſtern countries. They were looked upon as the principal ſtrength of the armies, as the moſt certain cauſes of the victory, and as an apparatus the moſt capable of all others to ſtrike the enemy with conſternation and terror.

But in proportion as the military art improved, the people found the inconveniences of them, and at length laid them aſide. For to reap any advantage from them, it was neceſſary to fight in vaſt large plains, where the ſoil was very even, and where there were no rivulets, gutters, woods, nor vineyards.

[h] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41.

In after-times ſeveral methods were invented to render theſe chariots abſolutely uſeleſs. [i] It was enough to cut a ditch in their way, which immediately ſtopped their courſe. Sometimes an able and experienced general, as Eumenes in the battle which Scipio fought with Antiochus, would attack the chariots with a detachment of ſlingers, archers, and ſpearmen, who ſpreading themſelves on all ſides, would pour ſuch a ſtorm of ſtones, arrows, and lances, upon them, and at the ſame time fall a ſhouting ſo loud with the whole army, that they terrified the horſes of the chariots, and occaſioned ſuch diſorder and confuſion among them, as often made them turn about and run foul upon their own forces. [k] At other times they would render the chariots ineffectual and unactive, only by marching over the ſpace which ſeparated the two armies, with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs, and advancing ſuddenly upon the enemy. For the ſtrength and execution of the chariots proceeded from the length of their courſe, which was what gave that impetuoſity and rapidity to their motion, without which they were but very feeble and inſignificant. It was after this manner, that the Romans under Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, defeated and put to flight the enemy's chariots by raiſing loud peals of laughter, as if they had been at the games of the Circus, and by crying out that they ſhould ſend more.

IV. *Their Diſcipline in Peace as well as in War.*

Nothing can be imagined more perfect, than the diſcipline and good order of the troops in Cyrus's reign, whether in peace or war.

The methods uſed by that great prince, as is fully related in Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, in order to form his troops by frequent exerciſes, to inure them to fatigue by keeping them continually breathing and employed in laborious works, to prepare them for real battles by mock engagements, to fire them with courage and reſolution by exhortations, praiſes and rewards; all this, I ſay, is a perfect model for all who have the command of troops, to which, generally ſpeaking, peace and tranquillity become extremely perni-

[i] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 41. [k] Plut. in Syl. p. 463.

cious; for a relaxation of diſcipline, which uſually enſues, enervates the vigour of the ſoldiers; and their inaction blunts that edge of courage, which the motion of armies, and the approach of enemies infinitely ſharpen and excite. * A wiſe preſcience of the future ought to make us prepare in time of peace whatever will be needful in time of war.

Whenever the Perſian armies marched, every thing was ordered and carried on with as much regularity and exactneſs, as on a day of battle; not a ſoldier or officer daring to quit his rank, or remove from the colours. It was the cuſtom amongſt all Aſiatics, whenever they encamped, though but for a day or a night, to have their camp ſurrounded with pretty deep ditches. This they did to prevent being ſurpriſed by the enemy, and that they might not be forced to engage againſt their inclinations. [1] They uſually contented themſelves with covering their camp with a bank of earth dug out of theſe ditches; though ſometimes they fortified them with good paliſadoes, and long ſtakes driven into the ground.

By what has been ſaid of their diſcipline in time of peace, and of their manner of marching and encamping their armies, we may judge of their exactneſs on a day of battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the accounts we have of it in ſeveral parts of the Cyropædia. No ſingle family can be better regulated, or pay a more ſpeedy and exact obedience to the firſt ſignal, than the whole army of Cyrus. He had long accuſtomed them to that prompt obedience, on which the ſucceſs of all enterpriſes depends. For what avails the beſt head in the world, if the arms do not act conformably, and follow its directions? At firſt he had uſed ſome ſeverity, which is neceſſary in the beginning, in order to eſtabliſh a good diſcipline; but this ſeverity was always accompanied with reaſon and tempered with kindneſs. The example of their † leader, who was the firſt upon all duty, gave weight and authority to his diſcourſe, and ſoftened the rigour of his commands. The unalterable rule he laid

[1] Diod. l. i. p. 24, 25.

* ——————*Metuenſque futuri,*
In pace, ut ſapiens, aptarit idonea bello. Hor. Satyr. ii. l. 2.

† *Dux, cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adeſſe: laudem ſtrenuis, ſolatium invalidis exemplum omnibus oſtendere.* Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 35.

down to himſelf of granting nothing but to merit only, and of refuſing every thing to favour, was a ſure means of keeping all the officers attached to their duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant and careful. *For there is nothing more diſcouraging to perſons of that profeſſion, even to thoſe who love their prince and their country, than to ſee the rewards, to which the dangers they have undergone, and the blood they have ſpilt, entitle them, conferred upon others. Cyrus had the art of inſpiring his common ſoldiers even with a zeal for diſcipline and order, by firſt inſpiring them with a love for their country, for their honour, and their fellow citizens; and above all, by endearing himſelf to them by his bounty and liberality. Theſe are the true methods of eſtabliſhing and ſupporting military diſcipline in its full force and vigour.

V. *Their Order of Battle.*

As there were but very few fortified places in Cyrus's time, all their wars were little elſe but field expeditions; for which reaſon that wiſe prince found out, by his own reflection and experience, that nothing contributed more to victory, than a numerous and good cavalry; and the gaining of one ſingle pitched battle was often attended with the conqueſt of a whole kingdom. Accordingly we ſee, that having found the Perſian army entirely deſtitute of that important and neceſſary ſuccour, he turned all his thoughts towards remedying that defect, and ſo far ſucceeded, by his great application and activity, as to form a body of Perſian cavalry, which became ſuperior to that of his enemies, in goodneſs at leaſt if not in number. [m] There were ſeveral breeds of horſes in Perſia and Media; but in the latter province, thoſe of a place, called Niſea, were the moſt eſteemed; and it was from thence the king's ſtable was furniſhed. We ſhall now examine what uſe they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The celebrated battle of Thymbræa may ſerve to give us a juſt notion of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus,

[m] Herod. l. vii. c 40. Strab. l. xi. p. 630.

* *Cecidiſſe in irritum labores, ſi præmia periculorum ſoli aſſequantur, qui periculis non aſſuerunt.* TACIT. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 53.

and to ſhow how far their ability extended either in the uſe of arms or the diſpoſition of armies.

They knew that the moſt advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, which conſiſted chiefly of the cuiraſſiers, on the two wings of the army. By this diſpoſition the flanks of the foot were covered, and the horſe were at liberty to act and extend themſelves, as occaſion ſhould require.

They likewiſe underſtood the neceſſity of drawing out an army into ſeveral lines, in order to ſupport one another; becauſe otherwiſe, one ſingle line might eaſily be pierced through and broken; ſo would not be able to rally and conſequently the army would be left without reſource. For which reaſon, they formed the firſt line of foot heavily armed, * twelve men deep, who, on the firſt onſet, made uſe of the half-pike; and afterwards, when the fronts of the two armies came cloſe together, engaged the enemy body to body with their ſwords, or ſcymitars.

The ſecond line conſiſted of ſuch men as were lightly armed, whoſe manner of fighting was to fling their javelins over the heads of the firſt. Theſe javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were flung with great violence. The deſign of them was to put the enemy into diſorder, before they came to cloſe fight.

The third line conſiſted of archers, whoſe bows being bent with the utmoſt force, carried their arrows over the heads of the two preceding lines, and extremely annoyed the enemy. Theſe archers were ſometimes mixed with ſlingers, who ſlung great ſtones with a terrible force; but, in after-time the Rhodians, inſtead of ſtones, made uſe of leaden bullets, which the ſlings carried a great deal farther.

A fourth line, formed of men in the ſame manner as thoſe of the firſt, formed the rear of the main body. This line was intended for the ſupport of the others, and to keep them to their duty, in caſe they gave way. It ſerved likewiſe for a rear-guard, and a body of reſerve to repulſe the enemy, if they ſhould happen to penetrate ſo far.

They had beſides moving towers, carried upon huge waggons, drawn by ſixteen oxen each, in which were twenty

* Before Cyrus's time it was of twenty-four men.

men, whoſe buſineſs was to diſcharge ſtones and javelins. Theſe were placed in the rear of the whole army behind the body of reſerve, and ſerved to ſupport their troops, when they were driven by the enemy; and to favour their rallying when in diſorder.

They made great uſe too of their chariots armed with ſcythes, as we have already obſerved. Theſe they generally placed in the front of the battle, and ſome of them at certain times upon the flanks of the army; or, when they had any reaſon to fear their being ſurrounded.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the ancients carry their knowledge in the military art with reſpect to their battles and engagements. But we do not find they had any ſkill in chooſing advantageous poſts, in ſeaſonably poſſeſſing themſelves of a favourable country, of bringing the war into a cloſe one, of making uſe of defiles and narrow paſſes, either to moleſt the enemy in their march, or to cover themſelves from their attacks; of laying artful ambuſcades; of protracting a campaign to a great length by wiſe delays; of not ſuffering a ſuperior enemy to force them to a deciſive action, and of reducing him to the neceſſity of preying upon himſelf through the want of forage and proviſions. Neither do we ſee, that they had much regard to the defending of their right and left with rivers, marſhes, or mountains; and by that means to make the front of a ſmaller army equal to that of another much more numerous; and to put it out of the enemy's power to ſurround or flank them.

Yet in Cyrus's firſt campaign againſt the Armenians, and afterwards againſt the Babylonians, there ſeems to have been ſome beginnings, and a kind of eſſay of this art; but they were not improved, or carried to any degree of perfection in thoſe days. Time, reflection, and experience made the great commanders in after-ages acquainted with theſe precautions and ſubtleties of war; and we have already ſhown, in the wars of the Carthaginians, what uſe Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, and other generals of both nations made of them.

VI. *Their Manner of attacking and defending ſtrong Places.*

The ancients both deviſed and executed all that could be expected from the nature of the arms known in their days, as alſo from the force and the variety of engines then in uſe, either for attacking or defending fortified places.

1. *Their Way of attacking Places.*

The firſt method of attacking a place was by blockade. They inveſted the town with a wall built quite round it, and in which, at proper diſtances, were made redoubts and places of arms; and between the wall and the town they dug a deep trench, which they ſtrongly fenced with paliſadoes, to hinder the beſieged from going out, as well as to prevent ſuccours from being brought in. In this manner they waited till famine did what they could not effect by force or art. From hence proceeded the length of the ſieges related by the ancients; as that of *Troy, which laſted ten years; that of Azoth by Pſammeticus, which laſted twenty; that of Nineveh, where we find Sardanapalus defended himſelf for the ſpace of ſeven. And Cyrus might have lain a long time before Babylon, where they had laid in a ſtock of proviſions for twenty years, if he had not uſed a different method for taking it.

As they found blockades extremely tedious from their duration, they invented the method of ſcaling, which was done by raiſing a great number of ladders, againſt the walls, by means whereof a great many files of ſoldiers might climb up together, and force their way in.

To render this method of ſcaling impracticable, or at leaſt ineffectual, they made their walls of their city extremely high, and the towers, wherewith they were flanked, ſtill conſiderably higher, that the ladders of the beſiegers might not be able to reach the top of them. This obliged them to find out ſome other way of getting to the top of ramparts; and this was building moving towers of wood, ſtill higher than the walls, and by approaching them, with thoſe

* Homer makes no mention of the ram or any warlike engine.

wooden towers. On the top of theſe towers, which formed a kind of platform, was placed a competent number of ſoldiers, who with darts and arrows, and the aſſiſtance of their baliſtæ and catapultæ, ſcowered the ramparts, and cleared them of the defenders; and then from a lower ſtage of the tower they let down a kind of drawbridge, which reſted upon the wall, and gave the ſoldiers admittance.

A third method, which extremely ſhortened the length of their ſieges, was that of the battering-ram, by which they made breaches in the walls, and opened themſelves a paſſage into the places beſieged. This battering-ram was a vaſt thick beam of timber, with a ſtrong head of iron or braſs at the end of it; which was puſhed with the utmoſt force againſt the walls. There were ſeveral kinds of them; but I ſhall give a more ample and particular account of theſe, as well as of other warlike engines in another place.

They had ſtill a fourth method of attacking places, which was, that of ſapping and undermining; and this was done two different ways; that is, either to carry on a ſubterranean path quite under the walls, into the heart of the city, and ſo open themſelves a paſſage and entrance into it; or elſe, after they had ſapped the foundation of the wall, and put ſupporters under it, to fill the ſpace with all ſorts of combuſtible matter, and then to ſet the matter on fire, in order to burn down the ſupporters, calcine the materials of the wall, and throw down part of it.

The Manner of defending Places.

With reſpect to the fortifying and defending of towns the ancients made uſe of all the fundamental principles and eſſential rules now practiſed in the art of fortification. They had the method of overflowing the country round about, to hinder the enemy's approaching the town; they made their ditches deep, and of a ſteep aſcent, and fenced them round with paliſadoes, to make the enemy's aſcent or deſcent the more difficult; they made their ramparts very thick, and fenced them with ſtone, or brick-work, that the battering-ram ſhould not be able to demoliſh them; and very high, that the ſcaling of them ſhould be equally im-

practicable; they had their projecting towers, from whence our modern baſtions derived their origin, for the flanking of the curtains, the ingenious invention of different machines for the ſhooting of arrows, throwing of darts and lances, and hurling of great ſtones with vaſt force and violence; their parapets and battlements in the walls for the ſoldiers ſecurity, and their covered galleries which went quite round the walls, and ſerved as ſubterraneous paſſages; their intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers; they made their ſallies too, in order to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers, and to ſet engines on fire; as alſo their countermines to defeat the mines of the enemy; and laſtly, they built citadels, as places of retreat in caſe of extremity, to ſerve as the laſt reſource to a garriſon upon the point of being forced, and to make the taking of the town of no effect, or at leaſt to obtain a more advantageous capitulation. All theſe methods of defending places againſt thoſe that beſieged them, were known in the art of fortification, as it was practiſed among the ancients; and they are the very ſame as are now in uſe among the moderns, allowing for ſuch alteration as the difference of arms has occaſioned.

I thought it neceſſary to enter into this detail, in order to give the reader an idea of the ancient manner of defending fortified towns; as alſo to remove a prejudice which prevails among many of the moderns, who imagine that, becauſe new names are now given to the ſame things, the things themſelves are therefore different in nature and principle. Since the invention of gunpowder, cannon indeed have been ſubſtituted in the place of the battering-ram; and muſket-ſhot in the room of baliſtæ, catapultæ, ſcorpions, javelins, ſlings, and arrows. But does it therefore follow, that any of the fundamental rules of fortification are changed? By no means. The ancients made as much of the ſolidity of bodies, and the mechanic powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit.

VII. *The Condition of the Perſian Forces after Cyrus's Time.*

I have already obſerved, more than once, that we muſt not judge of the merit and courage of the Perſian troops at

all times, by what we ſee of them in Cyrus's reign. I ſhall conclude this article of war with a judicious reflection made by Monſieur Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, on that ſubject. He obſerves, that after the death of that prince, the Perſians, generally ſpeaking, were ignorant of the great advantages that reſult from ſeverity, order, or diſcipline; from the drawing up of an army; their order in marching and encamping; and that happineſs of conduct which moves thoſe great bodies without diſorder or confuſion. Full of a vain oſtentation of their power and greatneſs; and rely more upon ſtrength than prudence, upon the number rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was neceſſary, when they had drawn together immenſe numbers of people, who fought indeed with reſolution enough, but without order, and who found themſelves encumbered with the vaſt multitudes of uſeleſs perſons, in the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to ſuch an height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the ſame magnificence, and enjoy the ſame pleaſures and delights in the army, as in the king's court; ſo that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and all their eunuchs. Their ſilver and gold plate, and all their rich furniture, were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in ſhort, all the equipage and utenſils ſo voluptuous a life requires. An army compoſed in this manner, and already clogged with the exceſſive number of troops, had the additional load of vaſt multitudes of ſuch as did not fight. In this confuſion the troops could not act in concert: their orders never reached them in time; and in action every thing went on at random, as it were, without the poſſibility of any commander's preventing diſorder. Add to this, the neceſſity they were under of finiſhing an expedition quickly, and of paſſing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; becauſe ſuch a vaſt body of people, greedy not only of the neceſſaries of life, but of ſuch things alſo as were requiſite for luxury and pleaſure, conſumed all that could be met with in a very ſhort time; nor indeed is it eaſy to comprehend from whence they could procure ſubſiſtence.

But with all this vaſt train, the Perſians aſtoniſhed thoſe nations that were as unexpert in military affairs as themſelves; and many of thoſe that were better verſed therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weakened or diſtreſſed by their own diviſions, or overpowered by their enemy's numbers. And by this means Egypt, as proud as ſhe was of her antiquity, her wiſe inſtitutions, and the conqueſts of her Seſoſtris, became ſubject to the Perſians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the Leſſer Aſia, and ſuch Greek colonies as the luxury of Aſia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itſelf, they found what they had never met with before, regular and well-diſciplined troops, ſkilful and experienced commanders, ſoldiers accuſtomed to temperance, whoſe bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered both robuſt and active, by wreſtling and other exerciſes practiſed in that country. The Grecian armies indeed were but ſmall; but they were like your ſtrong, vigorous bodies, that ſeem to be all nerves and ſinews, and full of ſpirits in every part: at the ſame time they were ſo well commanded, and ſo prompt in obeying the orders of their generals, that one would have thought all the ſoldiers had been actuated by one ſoul; ſo perfect an harmony was there in all their motions.

ARTICLE III.

Arts and Sciences.

I DO not pretend to give an account of the eaſtern poetry, of which we know little more than what we find in the books of the Old Teſtament. Thoſe precious fragments are ſufficient to let us know the origin of poeſy; its true deſign; the uſe that was made of it by thoſe inſpired writers, namely, to celebrate the perfections, and ſing the wonderful works of God, as alſo the dignity and ſublimity of ſtyle which ought to accompany it, and be adapted to the majeſty of the ſubjects it treats. The diſcourſes of Job's friends, who lived in the eaſt, as he himſelf did, and who were diſtinguiſhed among the Gentiles, as much by their

learning as their birth, may likewiſe give us ſome notion of the eaſtern eloquence in thoſe early ages.

What the Egyptian prieſts ſaid of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular, according to [n] Plato, that they were but children in antiquity, is very true with reſpect to arts and ſciences, of which they have falſely aſcribed the invention to chimerical perſons, much poſterior to the deluge. [o] The holy ſcripture informs us, that before that epocha, God had diſcovered to mankind the art of tilling and cultivating the ground; of feeding their flocks and cattle, when their habitation was in tents; of ſpinning wool and flax, and weaving it into ſtuffs and linen; of forging and poliſhing iron and braſs, and putting them to numberleſs uſes, that are neceſſary and convenient for life and ſociety.

We learn from the ſame ſcriptures, that very ſoon after the deluge, human induſtry had made ſeveral diſcoveries very worthy of admiration; as, 1. The art of ſpinning gold thread, and of interweaving it with ſtuffs. 2. That of beating gold, and with light thin leaves of it to gild wood and other materials. 3. The ſecret of caſting metals; as braſs, ſilver, or gold; and of making all ſorts of figures with them in imitation of nature; of repreſenting any kind of different objects; and of making an infinite variety of veſſels of thoſe metals, for uſe and ornament. 4. The art of painting or carving upon wood, ſtone, or marble: And, 5. to name no more, that of dying their ſilks and ſtuffs, and giving them the moſt exquiſite and beautiful colours.

As it was in Aſia that men firſt ſettled after the deluge, it is eaſy to conceive that Aſia muſt have been the nurſe as it were of arts and ſciences, of which the remembrance had been preſerved by tradition; and which were afterwards revived again, and reſtored by means of men's wants and neceſſities, which put them upon all the methods of induſtry and application.

[n] In Timæo, p. 22. [o] Gen. c. vi.

SECT. I. *Architecture.*

THE building of the tower of Babel, and ſhortly after of thoſe famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which have been looked upon as prodigies; the grandeur and magnificence of royal and other palaces, divided into ſundry halls and apartments, and adorned with every thing that either decency or conveniency could require; the regularity and ſymmetry of the pillars, and vaulted roofs, raiſed and multiplied one upon another; the noble gates of their cities; the breadth and thickneſs of their ramparts; the height and ſtrength of their towers; their large commodious keys on the banks of their great rivers; and their curious bold bridges built over them: all theſe things, I ſay, with many other works of the like nature, ſhow to what a pitch of perfection architecture was carried in thoſe ancient times.

Yet I cannot ſay, whether in thoſe ages this art roſe to that degree of perfection, which it afterwards attained in Greece and Italy, or thoſe vaſt ſtructures in Aſia and Egypt, ſo much boaſted of by the ancients, were as remarkable for their beauty and regularity, as they were for their magnitude and ſpaciouſneſs. We hear of five orders in Architecture, the Tuſcan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Compoſite: but we never hear of an Aſiatic or Egyptian order; which gives us reaſon to doubt whether the ſymmetry, meaſures, and proportions of pillars, pilaſters, and other ornaments in architecture, were exactly obſerved in thoſe ancient ſtructures.

SECT. II. *Muſic.*

IT is no wonder, if in a country like Aſia, addicted to voluptuous and luxurious living, muſic, which is in a manner the ſoul of ſuch enjoyments, was in high eſteem, and cultivated with great application. The very names of the principal notes of ancient muſic, which the modern has ſtill preſerved, namely, the Doric, Phrygian, Lydian, Ionian, and Æolian, ſufficiently indicate the place where it had its origin; or at leaſt, where it was improved and brought to

perfection. [p] We learn from holy ſcripture, that in Laban's time inſtrumental muſic was much in uſe in the country where he dwelt, that is, in Meſopotamia; ſince, among the other reproaches he makes to his ſon-in-law Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family "with mirth and with ſongs, with tabret and with harp." [q] Amongſt the booty that Cyrus ordered to be ſet apart for his uncle Cyaxares, mention is made of two famous * female muſicians, very ſkilful in their profeſſion, who accompanied a lady of Suſa, and were taken priſoners with her.

To determine what degree of perfection muſic was carried to by the ancients, is a queſtion which very much puzzles the learned. It is the harder to be decided, becauſe to determine juſtly upon it, it ſeems neceſſary we ſhould have ſeveral pieces of muſic compoſed by the ancients, with their notes, that we might examine it both with our eyes and our ears. But, unhappily, it is not with muſic in this reſpect, as with ancient ſculpture and poetry, of which we have ſo many noble monuments remaining; whilſt, on the contrary, we have not any one piece of their compoſition in the other ſcience, by which we can form a certain judgment of it, and determine whether the muſic of the ancients was as perfect as ours.

It is generally allowed, that the ancients were acquainted with the triple ſymphony, that is, the harmony of voices, that of inſtruments, and that of voices and inſtruments in concert.

It is alſo agreed, that they excelled in what relates to the rythmus. What is meant by rythmus, is the aſſemblage, or union of various times in muſic, which are joined together with a certain order, and in certain proportions. To underſtand this definition, it is to be obſerved, that the muſic we are here ſpeaking of, was always ſet and ſung to the words of certain verſes, in which every ſyllable was diſtinguiſhed into long and ſhort; that the ſhort ſyllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that therefore the former reckoned to make up but one time, whilſt the latter made up two;

[p] Gen. xxxi 27. [q] Cyrop. l. iv. p. 13.

* Μασσαγετ; δυο τας κρατιστας.

and conſequently the ſound which anſwered to this, was to continue twice as long as the ſound which anſwered to the other; or, which is the ſame thing, it was to conſiſt of two times, or meaſures, whilſt the other comprehended but one; that the verſes which were ſung, conſiſted of a certain number of feet formed by the different combination of theſe long and ſhort ſyllables; and that the rythmus of the ſong regularly followed the march of theſe feet. As theſe feet, of what nature or extent ſoever, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, of which the former was called ἀρσις, elevation or raiſing; and the latter θεσις, depreſſion or falling: ſo the rythmus of the ſong, which anſwered to every one of thoſe feet, was divided into two parts equally or unequally by what we now call a *beat*, and a reſt of intermiſſion. The ſcrupulous regard the ancients had to the quantity of their ſyllables in their vocal muſic, made their rythmus much more perfect and regular than ours: for our poetry is not formed upon the meaſure of long and ſhort ſyllables; but nevertheleſs a ſkilful muſician amongſt us, may in ſome ſort expreſs, by the length of the ſounds, the quantity of every ſyllable. This account of the rythmus of the ancients I have copied from one of the diſſertations of Monſieur Burette; which I have done out of regard for young ſtudents, to whom this little explanation may be of great uſe for the underſtanding of ſeveral paſſages in ancient authors. I now return to my ſubject.

The principal point in diſpute among the learned, concerning the muſic of the ancients, is to know whether they underſtood muſic in ſeveral parts, that is, a compoſition conſiſting of ſeveral parts, and in which all thoſe different parts form each by itſelf a complete piece, and at the ſame time have an harmonious connection, as it is in our counterpoint or concert, whether ſimple or compounded.

If the reader be curious to know more concerning this matter, and whatever elſe relates to the muſic of the ancients, I refer him to the learned diſſertations of the abovementioned M. Burette, inſerted in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy des Belles-lettres; which ſhow the profound erudition and exquiſite taſte of that writer.

SECT. III. *Phyſic.*

WE likewiſe diſcover in thoſe early times the origin of phyſic, the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and ſciences, were very rude and imperfect. [r] Herodotus, and after him Strabo, obſerves, that it was a general cuſtom among the Babylonians to expoſe their ſick perſons to the view of paſſengers, in order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the like diſtemper, and by what remedies they had been cured. From hence ſeveral people have pretended that phyſic is nothing elſe but a conjectural and experimental ſcience, entirely reſulting from obſervations made upon the nature of different diſeaſes, and upon ſuch things as are conducive or prejudicial to health. It muſt be confeſſed that experience will go a great way; but that alone is not ſufficient. The famous Hippocrates made great uſe of it in his practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. [s] The cuſtom was in thoſe days, for all perſons that had been ſick, and were cured, to put up a picture of Æſculapius, wherein they gave an account of the remedies that had reſtored them to their health. That celebrated phyſician cauſed all theſe inſcriptions and memorials to be copied out, which were of great advantage to him.

[t] Phyſic was, even in the time of the Trojan war, in great uſe and eſteem. Æſculapius, who flouriſhed at that time, is reckoned the inventor of that art, and had even then brought it to a great perfection by his profound knowledge in botany, by his great ſkill in medicinal preparations and chirurgical operations: for in thoſe days theſe ſeveral branches were not ſeparated from one another, but were all included together under the denomination of phyſic.

[u] The two ſons of Æſculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a certain number of troops at the ſiege of Troy, were both excellent phyſicians and brave officers; and rendered as much ſervice to the Grecian army by their ſkill in their phyſical, as they did by their courage and conduct in their military capacity. [x] Nor did Achilles himſelf,

[r] Her. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. xvi. p. 746.
[s] Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. Strab. l. viii. p. 374. [t] Diod. l. v. p. 341.
[u] Hom. Iliad. l. x. v. 821—847. [x] Plut. in Alex. p. 668.

or even Alexander the Great in after times, think the knowledge of this ſcience improper for a general, or beneath his dignity. On the contrary, he learned it himſelf of Chiron, the centaur, and afterwards inſtructed his governor and friend Patroclus in it, who did not diſdain to exerciſe the art, in healing the wound of Eurypilus. This wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately aſſuaged the pain, and ſtopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of phyſic which treats of herbs and plants was very much known, and almoſt the only branch of the ſcience uſed in thoſe early times. [y] Virgil ſpeaking of a celebrated phyſician, who was inſtructed in his art by Apollo himſelf, ſeems to confine that profeſſion to the knowledge of ſimples. *Scire poteſtates herbarum uſumque medendi maluit.* It was nature herſelf that offered thoſe innocent and ſalutary remedies, and ſeemed to invite mankind to make uſe of them. [z] Their gardens, fields, and woods ſupplied them gratis with an infinite plenty and variety. [a] As yet no uſe was made of minerals, treacles, and other compoſitions, ſince diſcovered by cloſer and more inquiſitive reſearches into nature.

[b] Pliny ſays, that phyſic, brought by Æſculapius into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was ſoon after neglected and loſt, and lay in a manner buried in darkneſs till the time of the Peloponneſian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and reſtored to its ancient honour and credit. This may be true with reſpect to Greece; but in Perſia we find it always cultivated, and conſtantly held in great reputation. [c] The great Cyrus, as is obſerved by Xenophon, never failed to take a certain number of excellent phyſicians along with him in the army, rewarding them very liberally, and treating them with particular regard: he further remarks, that in this, Cyrus only followed a cuſtom, that had been anciently eſtabliſhed among their generals; [d] and that the younger Cyrus acted in the ſame manner.

It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates, who carried this ſcience to its higheſt perfection: and though it be certain, that ſeveral improvements and new

[y] Æn. l. xii. v. 396. [z] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [a] Ibid. l. xxiv. c. 1.
[b] Lib. xxix. c. 9. [c] Cyrop. l. i. p. 29. & l. viii. p. 212.
[d] De exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 311.

diſcoveries have been made in that art ſince his time, yet is he ſtill looked upon by the ableſt phyſicians as the firſt and chief maſter of the faculty, and as the perſon whoſe writings ought to be the chief ſtudy of thoſe that would diſtinguiſh themſelves in that profeſſion.

Men thus qualified, who, beſide their having ſtudied the moſt celebrated phyſicians, as well ancient as modern, as alſo the knowledge they have acquired of the virtues of ſimples, the principles of natural philoſophy, and the conſtitution and contexture of human bodies, have had a long practice and experience, and to that have added their own ſerious reflections; ſuch men as theſe, in a well-ordered ſtate, deſerve to be highly rewarded and diſtinguiſhed, as the Holy Spirit itſelf ſignifies to us in the ſacred writings: "[e] The ſkill of the phyſician ſhall lift up his head; and in the ſight of great men he ſhall be in admiration;" ſince all their labours, lucubrations, and watchings are devoted to the people's health, which of all human bleſſings is the deareſt and moſt valuable. And yet this bleſſing is what mankind are the leaſt careful to preſerve. They do not only deſtroy it by riot and exceſs, but through a blind credulity they fooliſhly intruſt it with perſons of no ſkill or experience*, who impoſe upon them by their impudence and preſumption; or ſeduce them by their flattering aſſurances of infallible recovery.

SECT. IV. *Aſtronomy.*

AS much as the Grecians deſired to be eſteemed the authors and inventors of all arts and ſciences, they could never abſolutely deny the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of aſtronomy. The advantageous † ſituation of Babylon, which was built upon a wide, extended flat country, where no mountains bounded the proſpect; the conſtant clearneſs and ſerenity of the air in

[e] Ecclus. xxxviii. 3.

* *Palam eſt, ut quiſque inter iſtos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ noſtræ neciſque fieri—Adeo blanda eſt ſperandi pro ſe cuique dulcedo.* PLIN. xxix. c. i.

† *A Principio Aſſyrii propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectionis motuſque ſtellarum obſervaverunt.* CIC. lib. i. de Divin. n. 2.

that country, ſo favourable to the free contemplation of the heavens; perhaps alſo the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which ſeemed to be intended for an obſervatory; all theſe circumſtances were ſtrong motives to engage this people to a more nice obſervation of the various motions of the heavenly bodies, and the regular courſe of the ſtars. * The abbot Renaudot, in his diſſertation upon the ſphere, obſerves, that the plain which in ſcripture is called Shinar, and in which Babylon ſtood, is the ſame as is called by the Arabians Sinjar, where the caliph Almamon, the ſeventh of the Habbaſſides, in whoſe reign the ſciences began to flouriſh among the Arabians, cauſed the aſtronomical obſervations to be made, which for ſeveral ages directed all the aſtronomers of Europe; and that the ſultan Gelaledden Melikſchah, the third of the Seljukides, cauſed a courſe of the like obſervations to be made near three hundred years afterwards in the ſame place; from whence it appears, that this place was always reckoned one of the propereſt in the world for aſtronomical obſervations.

The ancient Babylonians could not have carried theirs to any great perfection for want of the help of teleſcopes, which are of modern invention, and have greatly contributed of late years to render our aſtronomical enquiries more perfect and exact. Whatever they were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a great and credible author, according to Pliny [f] ſpeaks of obſervations made for the ſpace of ſeven hundred and twenty years, and imprinted upon ſquares of brick; which, if it be true, muſt reach back to a very early antiquity. [g] Thoſe of which Caliſthenes, a philoſopher in Alexander's court, makes mention, and of which he gave Ariſtotle an account, include 1903 years, and conſequently muſt commence very near the deluge, and the time of Nimrod's building the city of Babylon.

We are certainly under great obligations, which we ought to acknowledge, to the labours and curious enquiries of thoſe who have contributed to the diſcovery or improve-

[f] Plin. hiſt. nat. l. vii. c. 56.

[g] Porphyr. apud. Simplic. in. l. ii. de cœlo.

* Memoirs of the Academy des Belles Lettres, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 8.

ment of ſo uſeful a ſcience; a ſcience, not only of great ſervice to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the regular courſe of the ſtars, and of the wonderful, conſtant, and uniform proportion of days, months, ſeaſons, and years, but even to religion itſelf: with which, as Plato ſhows, [h] the ſtudy of that ſcience has a very cloſe and neceſſary connection; as it directly tends to inſpire us with great reverence for the Deity, who with an infinite wiſdom preſides over the government of the univerſe, and is preſent and attentive to all our actions. But at the ſame time we cannot ſufficiently deplore the misfortune of thoſe very philoſophers, who, by their ſucceſsful * application and aſtronomical enquiries, came very near the Creator, and yet were ſo unhappy as not to find him, becauſe they did not ſerve and adore him as they ought to do, nor govern their actions by the rules and directions of that divine model.

SECT. V. *Judicial Aſtrology.*

AS to the Babylonian and other eaſtern philoſophers, the ſtudy of the heavenly bodies was ſo far from leading them, as it ought to have done to the knowledge of him, who is both their creator and director, that for the moſt part it carried them into impious practices, and the extravagances of judicial aſtrology. So we term that deceitful and preſumptuous ſcience, which teaches to judge of things to come by the knowledge of the ſtars, and to foretel events by the ſituation of the planets, and by their different aſpects. A ſcience juſtly looked upon as a madneſs and folly by all the moſt ſenſible writers among the pagans themſelves. [i] *O delirationem incredibilem!* cries Cicero, in refuting the extravagant opinion of thoſe aſtrologers, frequently called Chaldeans, from the country that firſt produced them; who, in conſequence of the obſervations made, as they affirmed, by their predeceſſors upon all paſt events, for the ſpace only of four hundred and ſeventy thouſand years,

[h] In Epinom. p. 989—992. [i] Lib. ii. de Div. n. 87. 99.

* *Magna induſtria, magna ſolertia: ſed ibi Creatorem ſorutati ſunt poſitum non longe a ſe, et non invenerunt—quia quærere neglexerunt.* AUGUST. de verb. Evang. Math. Serm. lxviii. c. 1.

pretended to know aſſuredly, by the aſpect and combination of the ſtars and planets at the inſtant of a child's birth, what would be his genius, temper, manners, the conſtitution of his body, his actions, and in a word, all the events, with the duration of his life. He repeats a thouſand abſurdities of this opinion, the very ridicule of which ſufficiently expoſes it to contempt; and aſks, why of all that vaſt number of children that are born in the ſame moment, and without doubt exactly under the aſpect of the ſame ſtars, there are not two of them, whoſe lives and fortunes reſemble each other? He puts this further queſtion, whether that great number of men, that periſhed at the battle of Cannæ, and died of one and the ſame death, were all born under the ſame conſtellations?

[k] It is hardly credible, that ſo abſurd an art, founded entirely upon fraud and impoſture, *fraudulentiſſima artium*, as Pliny calls it, ſhould ever acquire ſo much credit, as this has done, throughout the whole world and in all ages. What has ſupported and brought it into ſo great vogue, continues that author, is the natural curioſity men have to penetrate into futurity, and to know beforehand the things that are to befal them: *Nullo non avido futura de ſe ſciendi*; attended with a ſuperſtitious credulity, which finds itſelf agreeably flattered with the large and grateful promiſes of which thoſe fortune-tellers are never ſparing. *Ita blandiſſimis deſideratiſſimiſque promiſſis addidit vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat humanum genus.*

[l] Modern writers, and among others two of our greateſt philoſophers, Gaſſendus and Rohault, have inveighed againſt the folly of that pretended ſcience with the ſame energy, and have demonſtrated it to be equally void of principles and experience.

As for its principles. The heaven, according to the ſyſtem of the aſtrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts, which parts are taken not according to the poles of the world, but according to thoſe of the zodiac: theſe twelve parts, or proportions of heaven, have each of them its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. the moſt im-

[k] Plin. Præom. l. xxx.

[l] Gaſſendi phyſ. ſect. ii. l. 6. Robault's phyſ. part. ii. ch. 27.

portant and deciſive portion is that which is next under the horizon, and which is called the aſcendant, becauſe it is ready to aſcend and appear above the horizon when a man comes into the world. The planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mixed: the aſpects of theſe planets, which are only certain diſtances from one another, are likewiſe either happy or unhappy. I ſay nothing of ſeveral other hypotheſes, which are all equally arbitrary; and I aſk whether any man of common ſenſe can give into them upon the bare word of theſe impoſtors without any proofs, or even without the leaſt ſhadow of probability? The critical moment, and that on which all their predictions depend, is that of the birth. And why not as well the moment of conception? Why have the ſtars no influence during the nine months of child-bearing? Or is it poſſible, conſidering the incredible rapidity of the heavenly bodies, always to be ſure of hitting the preciſe determinate moment, without the leaſt variation of more or leſs, which is ſufficient to overthrow all? A thouſand other objections of the ſame kind might be made, which are altogether unanſwerable.

As for experience, they have ſtill leſs reaſon to flatter themſelves on that ſide. Whatever they have of that, muſt conſiſt in obſervations founded upon events, that have always come to paſs in the ſame manner, whenever the planets were found in the ſame ſituation. Now it is unanimouſly agreed by all aſtronomers, that ſeveral thouſands of years muſt paſs before any ſuch ſituation of the ſtars, as they would imagine, can twice happen; and it is very certain that the ſtate, in which the heavens will be to-morrow, has never yet been ſince the creation of the world. The reader may conſult the two philoſopher's above-mentioned, particularly Gaſſendus, who has more copiouſly treated this ſubject. But ſuch, and no better, are the foundations upon which the whole ſtructure of judicial aſtrology is built.

But what is aſtoniſhing, and argues an abſolute want of all reaſon, is, that certain pretended wits, who obſtinately harden themſelves againſt the moſt convincing proofs of religion, and who refuſe to believe even the cleareſt and moſt certain prophecies upon the word of God, do ſome-

times give entire credit to the vain predictions of these aſtrologers and impoſtors.

St. Auſtin, in ſeveral paſſages of his writings, informs us, that this ſtupid and ſacrilegious credulity is a * juſt chaſtiſement from God, who frequently puniſheth the voluntary blindneſs of men, by inflicting a ſtill greater blindneſs; and who ſuffers evil ſpirits, that they may keep their ſervants ſtill faſter in their nets, ſometimes to foretel them things which do really come to paſs, and of which the expectation very often ſerves only to torment them.

God, who alone foreſees future contingencies and events, becauſe he alone is the ſovereign diſpoſer and director of them †, does often in ſcripture revile the ignorance of the Babylonian aſtrologers, ſo much boaſted of, calling them forgers of lies and falſehoods: he moreover defies all their falſe gods to foretel any thing whatſoever, and conſents, if they do, that they ſhould be worſhipped as gods. Then addreſſing himſelf to the city of Babylon, he particularly declares all the circumſtances of the miſeries, with which ſhe ſhall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after that prediction; and that none of her prognoſticators, who had flattered her with aſſurances of a perpetual grandeur they pretended to have read in the ſtars, ſhould be able to avert the judgment, or even to foreſee the time of its accompliſhment. Indeed, how ſhould they? ſince at the very time of its execution, when [m] Belſhazzar, the laſt king of Babylon, ſaw a hand come out of the wall, and write unknown characters thereon, the Magi, Chaldeans, and, in a word, all

[m] Dan. c. v.

* *His omnibus conſideratis, non immerito creditur, cum aſtrologi mirabiliter multa vera reſpondent, occulto inſtinctu fieri ſpirituum non bonorum, quorum cura eſt has falſas et noxias opiniones de aſtralibus fatis inſere humanis mentibis atque firmare non horoſcopi notuti et inſpecti aliqua, arte, quæ nulla eſt.* De. Civ. Dei, l. v. c. 7.

† Therefore ſhall evil come upon thee, thou ſhalt know from whence it riſeth: And miſchief ſhall fall upon thee, thou ſhalt not be able to put it off: And deſolation ſhall come upon thee ſuddenly, which thou not ſhalt know. Stand now with thine inchantments, and with the multitude of thy ſorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy youth; if ſo be, thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou mayeſt prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy councils: Let now the aſtrologers, the ſtar-gazers, the prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from theſe things that ſhall come upon thee. Behold, they ſhall be as ſtubble: The fire ſhall burn them: They ſhall not deliver themſelves from the power of the flame. *Iſa.* xlvii. 11—14.

the pretended ſages of the country were not able ſo much as to read the writing. Here then we ſee aſtrology and magic convicted of ignorance and impotence, in the very place where they were moſt in vogue, and on an occaſion when it is certainly their intereſt to diſplay their ſcience and whole power.

ARTICLE IV.

Religion.

THE moſt authentic and general idolatry in the world is that wherein the ſun and moon were the objects of divine worſhip. This idolatry was founded upon a miſtaken gratitude; which inſtead of aſcending up to the Deity, ſtopped ſhort at the veil, which both covered and diſcovered him. With the leaſt reflection or penetration they might have diſcerned the ſovereign who commanded, from the * miniſter who did obey.

In all ages mankind have been ſenſibly convinced of the neceſſity of an intercourſe between God and man: and adoration ſuppoſes God to be both attentive to man's deſires and capable of fulfilling them. But the diſtance of the ſun and of the moon is an obſtacle to this intercourſe. Therefore fooliſh men endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience, by laying their † hands upon their mouths, and then lifting them up to thoſe falſe gods, in order to teſtify that they would be glad to unite themſelves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious cuſtom ſo prevalent throughout all the eaſt, from which Job eſteemed himſelf happy to have been preſerved: " ‡ If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs; and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand."

[n] The Perſians adored the ſun, and particularly the riſing ſun, with the profoundeſt veneration. To him they dedi-

[n] Her. l. i. c. 131.

* Among the Hebrews the ordinary name for the ſun ſignifies *miniſter*.

† *Superſtitioſus vulgus manum ori admovens, oſculum labiis preſſit.* Minhuc. p. 2. From thence is come the word *adorare*; that is to ſay *ad os manum ad movere*.

‡ The text is a kind of oath. *Job*, xxxi. 26, 27.

cated a magnificent chariot, with horſes of the greateſt beauty and value, as we have ſeen in Cyrus's ſtately cavalcade. (This ſame ceremony was practiſed by the Babylonians; of whom ſome impious kings of Judah borrowed it, and brought it into Paleſtine.) [o] Sometimes they likewiſe ſacrificed oxen to this god, who was very much known amongſt them by the name of Mithra.

[p] By a natural conſequence of the worſhip they paid to the ſun, they likewiſe paid a particular veneration to fire, always invoked it firſt in the ſacrifices, [q] carried it with great reſpect before the king in all his marches; intruſted the keeping of their ſacred fire, which came down from heaven, as they pretended, to none but the magi, and would have looked upon it as the greateſt of misfortunes, if it had been ſuffered to go out. [r] Hiſtory informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Perſians, demoliſhed ſeveral of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the ſacred fire had been preſerved till that time, which occaſioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country. [s] The Perſians likewiſe honoured the water, the earth, and the winds, as ſo many deities.

The cruel ceremony of making children paſs through the fire, was undoubtedly a conſequence of the worſhip paid to that element; for this fire-worſhip was common to the Babylonians and Perſians. The ſcripture poſitively ſays of the people of Meſopotamia, who were ſent as a colony into the country of the Samaritans, that "they cauſed their children to paſs through the fire." It is well known how common this barbarous cuſtom became in many provinces in Aſia.

[t] Beſides theſe, the Perſians had two gods of a more extraordinary nature, namely, Oromaſdes and Arimanius. The former they looked upon as the author of all the bleſſings and good things that happened to them; and the latter as the author of all the evils wherewith they were afflicted. I ſhall give a large account of theſe deities hereafter.

[o] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Strab. l. xv. p. 732. [p] Ibid.
[q] Xenoph. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 215. Am. Mar. l. xxiii. [r] Zonar. Annal. Vol. II.
[s] Her. l. i. c. 131. [t] Plut. in lib. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 369.

[u] The Perſians erected neither ſtatues nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their ſacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. [x] It was in the open fields that Cyrus acquitted himſelf of that religious duty, when he made the pompous and ſolemn proceſſion already ſpoken of. * It is ſuppoſed to have been through the advice and inſtigation of the Magi, that Xerxes, the Perſian king, burnt all the Grecian temples, eſteemed it injurious to the majeſty of God to ſhut him up within walls, to whom all things are open, and to whom the whole world ſhould be reckoned as a houſe or a temple.

† Cicero thinks, that in this the Greeks and Romans acted more wiſely than the Perſians, in that they erected temples within their cities, and thereby ſuppoſed their gods to reſide among them, which was a proper way to inſpire the people with ſentiments of religion and piety. Varro was not of the ſame opinion: [y] (St. Auſtin has preſerved that paſſage of his works.) After having obſerved that the Romans had worſhipped their gods without ſtatues or images for above a hundred and ſeventy years, he adds, that, if they had ſtill preſerved that ancient cuſtom, their religion would have been the purer and freer from corruption: *Quod ſi adhuc manſiſſet, caſtius dii obſervarentur*; and to confirm this ſentiment, he cites the example of the Jewiſh nation.

The laws of Perſia ſuffered no man to confine the motive of his ſacrifices to any private or domeſtic intereſt. This was a fine way of attaching all particular perſons to the public good, by teaching them that they ought never to ſacrifice for themſelves alone, but for the king and the whole ſtate, wherein every man was comprehended with the reſt of his fellow citizens.

The Magi were the guardians of all the ceremonies relating to their worſhip; and it was to them the people had re-

[u] Herod. l. i. c. 131. [x] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 233.
[y] Lib. iv. de Civ. Dei. n. 31.

* *Auctoribus Magis Xerxes inflammaſſe templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerunt deos, quibus omnia deberent eſſe patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum eſſet et domus.* Cic. l. ii. de Legib.

† *Melius Græci atque noſtri, qui, ut angerent pietatem in deos eaſdem illos urbes, quas nos incolere voluerunt. Adſert enim hæc opinio religionem utilem civitatibus.* Cic. lib. ii. de Legib.

courſe, in order to be inſtructed therein, and to know on what days, to what gods, and after what manner they were to offer their ſacrifices. As theſe Magi were all of one tribe, and that none but the ſon of a prieſt could pretend to the honour of the prieſthood, they kept all their learning and knowledge, whether in religious or political concerns, to themſelves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to inſtruct any ſtranger in theſe matters without the king's permiſſion. It was granted in favour of Themiſtocles, [z] and was according to Plutarch, a particular effect of the prince's great conſideration for that diſtinguiſhed perſon.

This knowledge and ſkill in religious matters, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worſhipping the gods in a becoming manner, Θεων θεραπειαν, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no ſacrifice without their preſence and miniſtration.

* And before a prince in Perſia could come to the crown, he was obliged to receive inſtruction for a certain time from ſome of the Magi, and to learn of them both the art of reigning, and that of worſhipping the gods after a proper manner. Nor did he determine any important affair of the ſtate, when he was upon the throne, without taking their advice and opinion beforehand; for which reaſon † Pliny ſays, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the eaſtern countries as the maſters and directors of princes, and of thoſe who ſtyled themſelves the king of kings.

They were the ſages, the philoſophers, and men of learning in Perſia; as the Gymnoſophiſts and Brachmans were amongſt the Indians, and the Druids among the Gauls. Their great reputation made people come from the moſt diſtant countries to be inſtructed by them in philoſophy and religion; and we are aſſured it was from them that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that learning, by which he acquired ſo much veneration and reſpect among the Greeks, excepting only his doctrine of tranſmigration, which he

[z] In Them. p. 126

* *Nec quiſquam rex Perſarum poteſt eſſe, qui non ante magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamque perceperit.* Cit. de Divin. l. i. n. 91.

† *In tantum faſtigii adolevit (auctoritas magorum) ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat, et in oriente regum regibus imperet.* PLIN. l. xxx. c. 1.

learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted and debaſed the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the ſoul.

It is generally agreed that Zoroaſter was the original author and founder of this ſect; but authors are conſiderably divided in their opinions about the time in which he lived. [a]What Pliny ſays upon this head, may reaſonably ſerve to reconcile that variety of opinions, as is very judiciouſly obſerved by Dr. Prideaux. We read in that author, that there were two perſons named Zoroaſter, between whoſe lives there might be the diſtance of ſix hundred years. The firſt of them was the founder of the Magian ſect about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who certainly flouriſhed between the beginning of Cyrus's reign in the eaſt, and the end of Darius's, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was the reſtorer and reformer of it.

Throughout all the eaſtern countries, idolatry was divided into two principal ſects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magians, who worſhipped fire. The former of theſe ſects had its riſe among the Chaldeans, who, from their knowledge of aſtronomy, and their particular application to the ſtudy of the ſeveral planets, which they believed to be inhabited by ſo many intelligencies, who were to thoſe orbs what the ſoul of man is to his body, were induced to repreſent Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by ſo many images or ſtatues, in which they imagined thoſe pretended intelligencies, or deities, were as really preſent as in the planets themſelves. In time, the number of their gods conſiderably increaſed; this image-worſhip from Chaldea ſpread itſelf throughout all the eaſt; from thence paſſed into Egypt; and at length came among the Greeks, who propagated it through all the weſtern nations.

To this ſect of the Sabeans was diametrically oppoſite that of the Magians, which alſo took its riſe in the ſame eaſt countries. The Magians utterly abhorred images, and worſhipped God only under the form of fire; looking upon that on account of its purity, brightneſs, activity, ſubtility, fecundity, and incorruptibility, as the moſt perfect ſymbol or

[a] Hiſt. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

repreſentation of the Deity. They began firſt in Perſia, and there and in India were the only places where this ſect was propagated, where they remain even to this day. The chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one the cauſe of all good and the other the cauſe of all evil. The former is repreſented by light and the other by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols. The good god they named Yazdan and Ormuzd, and the evil god Abraman. The former is by the Greeks called Oromaſdes and the latter Arimanius. [b] And therefore when Xerxes prayed, that his enemies might always reſolve to baniſh their beſt and braveſt citizens, as the Athenians had Themiſtocles, he addreſſed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Perſians, and not to Oromaſdes their good god.

Concerning theſe two gods they had this difference of opinion; that whereas ſome held both of them to have been from all eternity; others contended, that the good god only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual oppoſition between theſe two, till the end of the world; that then the good god ſhall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them ſhall have his world to himſelf; that is, the good god, his world with all the good; and the evil god, his world with all the wicked.

The ſecond Zoroaſter, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform ſome articles in the religion of the Magian ſect, which for ſeveral ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Perſians, but ſince the death of Smerdis and his chief confederates, and the maſſacre of their adherents and followers, was fallen into great contempt. It is thought this reformer made his firſt appearance in Ecbatana.

The chief reformation he made in the Magian religion, was in the firſt principle of it. For whereas before they had held as a fundamental principle the being of the two ſupreme firſt cauſes; the firſt light, which was the author of all good; and the other darkneſs, the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of theſe two as they were in a continual ſtruggle with each other, all things were made; he intro-

[b] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 126.

duced a principal ſuperior to them both, one ſupreme God, who created both light and darkneſs; and who, out of theſe two principles, made all other things according to his own will and pleaſure.

But, to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one ſupreme Being independent and ſelf-exiſting from all eternity: that under him there were two angels; one the angel of light, who is the author of all good; and the other the angel of darkneſs, who is the author of all evil: that theſe two out of the mixture of light and darkneſs made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual ſtruggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkneſs prevails, there evil takes place; that this ſtruggle ſhall continue to the end of the world; that then there ſhall be a general reſurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all ſhall receive a juſt retribution according to their works. After which the angel of darkneſs and his diſciples ſhall go into a world of their own, where they ſhall ſuffer in everlaſting darkneſs the puniſhments of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his diſciples ſhall alſo go into a world of their own, where they ſhall receive in everlaſting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they ſhall remain ſeparated for ever, and light and darkneſs be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that ſect, which is now in Perſia and India, do without any variation after ſo many ages, ſtill hold even to this day.

It is needleſs to inform the reader, that almoſt all theſe articles, though altered in many circumſtances, do in general agree with the doctrine of the holy ſcriptures; with which it plainly appears the two Zoroaſters were well acquainted, it being eaſy for both of them to have had an intercourſe or perſonal acquaintance with the people of God; the firſt of them in Syria, where the Iſraelites had been long ſettled; the latter at Babylon, to which place the ſame people were carried captive, and where Zoroaſter might confer with Daniel himſelf, who was in very great power and credit in the Perſian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaſter in the ancient Magian religion, was, that he cauſed temples to be built,

wherein their ſacred fires were carefully and conſtantly preſerved; and eſpecially that which he pretended himſelf to have brought down from heaven. Over this the prieſts kept a perpetual watch night and day, to prevent its being extinguiſhed.

Whatever relates to the ſect or religion of the Magians, the reader will find very largely and learnedly treated in Dean Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Teſtament, &c. from whence I have taken this ſhort extract.

Their Marriages, and Manner of burying the Dead.

Having ſaid ſo much of the religion of the eaſtern nations, which is an article I thought myſelf obliged to enlarge upon, becauſe I look upon it as an eſſential part of their hiſtory, I ſhall be forced to treat of their other cuſtoms with the greater brevity. Amongſt which their marriages and burials are too material to be omitted.

[c] There is nothing more horrible, or that gives us a greater idea of the profound darkneſs into which idolatry had plunged mankind, than the public proſtitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authoriſed by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, upon a certain feſtival of the year, celebrated in honour of the goddeſs Venus, under the name of Mylitta, whoſe temple, by means of this infamous ceremony, became a brothel or place of debauchery. [d] This wicked cuſtom was ſtill in being when the Iſraelites were carried captive to that criminal city; for which reaſon the prophet Jeremiah thought fit to caution and admoniſh them againſt ſo abominable a ſcandal.

Nor had the Perſians any better notion of the dignity and ſanctity of the matrimonial inſtitution, than the Babylonians. [e] I do not mean only with regard to that incredible multitude of wives and concubines, with which their kings filled their ſeraglios, and of which they were as jealous as if they had but one wife, keeping them all ſhut up in ſeparate apartments under a ſtrict guard of eunuchs, without ſuffering them to have any communication with one another,

[c] Herod. l. i. c. 199. [d] Baruch. vi. 42. & 43. [e] Herod. l. i. c. 135.

much leſs with perſons without doors. [f] It ſtrikes one with horror to read how far they neglected the moſt common laws of nature. Even inceſt with a ſiſter was allowed amongſt them by their laws, or at leaſt authoriſed by their Magi, thoſe pretended ſages of Perſia, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Cambyſes. Nor did even a father reſpect his own daughter, or a mother the ſon of her own body. [g] We read in Plutarch, that Paryſatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who ſtrove in all things to pleaſe the king her ſon, perceiving that he had conceived a violent paſſion for one of his own daughters, called Atoſſa, was ſo far from oppoſing his unlawful deſire, that ſhe herſelf adviſed him to marry her, and make her his lawful wife, and laughed at the maxims and laws of the Grecians, which taught the contrary. For, ſays ſhe to him, carrying her flattery to a monſtrous exceſs, "Are not you yourſelf ſet by God over the Perſians, as the only law and rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?"

This deteſtable cuſtom continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who being become maſter of Perſia, by the overthrow and death of Darius, made an expreſs law to ſuppreſs it. Theſe enormities may ſerve to teach us from what an abyſs the goſpel has delivered us; and how weak a barrier human wiſdom is of itſelf againſt the moſt extravagant and abominable crimes.

I ſhall finiſh this article by ſaying a word or two upon their manner of burying their dead. [h] It was not the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, and eſpecially of the Perſians, to erect funeral piles for the dead, and to conſume their bodies in the flames. [i] Accordingly we find that * Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, took care to charge his children to inter his body, and to reſtore it to the earth; that is the expreſſion he makes uſe of; by which he ſeems to declare that he looked upon the earth as the original parent, from whence he ſprung, and to which he ought to return. [k] And when

[f] Philo. lib. de Special. leg. p. 778. Diog. Laer. in Procem. p. 6.
[g] In Artax. p. 1023. [h] Herod. l. iii. c. 16.
[i] Cyrop. l. viii. 238. [k] Herod. l. iii. c. 16.

* *Ac mihi quidem antiquiſſimum ſepulturæ genus id fuiſſe videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac ſitum quaſi operimento matris obducitur.* Cic. lib. ii. de Leg. n. 56.

Cambyſes had offered a thouſand indignities to the dead body of Amaſis, king of Egypt, he thought he crowned all by cauſing it to be burnt, which was equally contrary to the Egyptian and Perſian manner of treating the dead. It was the cuſtom of * the latter to wrap up their dead in wax, in order to keep them the longer from corruption.

I thought proper to give the larger account in this place of the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, becauſe the hiſtory of that people will take up a great part of this work, and becauſe I ſhall ſay no more on that ſubject in the ſequel. The treatiſe of † Barnabus Briſſon, preſident of the parliament of Paris, upon the government of the Perſians, has been of great uſe to me. Such collections as theſe, when they are made by able hands, ſave a writer a great deal of pains, and furniſh him with matter of erudition, and coſts him little, and yet often does him great honour.

ARTICLE V.

The Cauſe of the Declenſion of the Perſian Empire, and of the Change that happened in their Manners.

WHEN we compare the Perſians, as they were before Cyrus, and during his reign, with what they were afterwards in the reigns of his ſucceſſors, we can hardly believe they were the ſame people; and we ſee a ſenſible illuſtration of this truth, that the declenſion of manners in any ſtate is always attended with that of empire and dominion.

Among many other cauſes that brought about the declenſion of the Perſian empire, the four following may be looked upon as the principal: their exceſſive magnificence and luxury; the abject ſubjection and ſlavery of the people; the bad education of their prince, which was the ſource of all their irregularities; and their want of faith in the execution of their treaties, oaths, and engagements.

* *Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, et nos domi ſervant: Perſæ jam cera circumlitos condiunt, ut quàm maximè permaneant diuturna corpora.* Cic. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. i. n. 108.

† *Barnab. Briſſonius de regio Perſarum principatu*, &c. Argentorati an. 1710.

SECT. I. *Luxury and Magnificence.*

WHAT made the Perſian troops in Cyrus's time to be looked upon as invincible, was the temperate and hard life to which they were accuſtomed from their infancy, having nothing but water for their ordinary drink, bread and roots for their food, the ground, or ſomething as hard to lie upon, inuring themſelves to the moſt painful exerciſes and labours, and eſteeming the greateſt dangers as nothing.

The temperature of the country where they were born, which was rough, mountainous, and woody, might ſomewhat contribute to their hardineſs; for which reaſon Cyrus [i] would never conſent to the project of tranſplanting them into a more mild and agreeable climate. The excellent manner of educating the ancient Perſians, of which we have already given a ſufficient account, and which was not left to the humours and fancies of parents, but was ſubject to the authority and direction of the magiſtrates, and regulated upon principles of the public good; this excellent education prepared them for obſerving, in all places and at all times, a moſt exact and ſevere diſcipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, who made it his ambition to ſurpaſs all his ſubjects in regularity, was the moſt abſtemious and ſober in his manner of life, the plaineſt in his dreſs, the moſt inured and accuſtomed to hardſhips and fatigues, as well as the braveſt and moſt intrepid in the time of action. What might not be expected from ſoldiers ſo formed and ſo trained up? By them therefore we find Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he continued to exhort his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, that they might not eclipſe the glory they had acquired, but carefully preſerve that ſimplicity, ſobriety, temperance, and love of labour, which were the means by which they had obtained it. But I do not know whether Cyrus himſelf did not at that very time ſow the firſt ſeeds of that luxury, which ſoon overſpread and corrupted the whole nation. In that auguſt ceremony, which we have already deſcribed at large,

[i] Plut. in Apopth. p. 172.

and on which he firſt ſhowed himſelf in public to his new conquered ſubjects, he thought proper, in order to heighten the ſplendor of his regal dignity, to make a pompous diſplay of all the magnificence and ſhow that could be contrived to dazzle the eyes of the people. Among other things he changed his own apparel, as alſo that of his officers, giving them all garments, made after the faſhion of the Medes, richly ſhining with gold and purple, inſtead of their Perſian clothes, which were very plain and ſimple.

This prince ſeemed to forget how much the contagious example of a court, the natural inclination all men have to value and eſteem what pleaſes the eye and makes a fine ſhow, how glad they are to diſtinguiſh themſelves above others by a falſe merit eaſily attained in proportion to the degrees of wealth and vanity a man has above his neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the purity of ancient manners, and of introducing by degrees a general, predominant taſte for extravagance and luxury.

[k] This luxury and extravagance roſe in time to ſuch an exceſs, as was little better than downright madneſs. The prince carried all his wives along with him to the wars; and what an equipage ſuch a troop muſt be attended with is eaſy to judge. All his generals and officers followed his example, each in proportion to his rank and ability. Their pretext for ſo doing was, that the ſight of what they held moſt dear and precious in the world, would encourage them to fight with the greater reſolution; but the true reaſon was the love of pleaſure, by which they were overcome and enſlaved, before they came to engage with the enemy.

Another inſtance of their folly was, that they carried their luxury and extravagance in the army, with reſpect to their tents, chariots, and tables, to a greater exceſs, if poſſible, than they did in their cities. [l] The moſt exquiſite meats, the rareſt birds, and the coſtlieſt dainties muſt needs be found for the prince, in what part of the world ſoever he was encamped. They had their veſſels of gold and ſilver without number; * inſtruments of luxury, ſays a certain

[k] Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv. p. 91—99. [l] Senec. l. iii. de Ira, c. 20.

* *Non belli ſed luxuriæ apparatum—Aciem Perſarum auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat Alexander, prædam, non arma geſtantem.* Q. Curt.

hiſtorian, not of victory, proper to allure and enrich an enemy, but not to repel or defeat him.

I do not ſee what reaſons Cyrus could have for changing his conduct in the laſt years of his life. It muſt be owned, indeed, that the ſtation of kings requires a ſuitable grandeur and magnificence, which may on certain occaſions be carried even to a degree of pomp and ſplendor. But princes, poſſeſſed of a real and ſolid merit, have a thouſand ways of making up what they may ſeem to loſe by retrenching ſome part of their outward ſtate and magnificence. Cyrus himſelf had found by experience, that a king is more ſure of gaining reſpect from his people by the wiſdom of his conduct, than by the greatneſs of his expences, and that affection and confidence produce a cloſer attachment to his perſon, than a vain admiration of unneceſſary pomp and grandeur. Be this as it will, Cyrus's laſt example became very contagious. A taſte for vanity and expence firſt prevailed at court, then ſpread itſelf into the cities and provinces, and in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal cauſes of the ruin of that empire, which he himſelf had founded.

What is here ſaid of the fatal effects of luxury, is not peculiar to the Perſian empire. The moſt judicious hiſtorians, the moſt learned philoſophers, and the profoundeſt politicians, all lay it down as a certain indiſputable maxim, that wherever luxury prevails, it never fails to deſtroy the moſt flouriſhing ſtates and kingdoms: and the experience of all ages, and all nations, does but too clearly demonſtrate this maxim.

What is this ſubtle, ſecret poiſon then, that thus lurks under the pomp of luxury and the charms of pleaſure, and is capable of enervating at the ſame time both the whole ſtrength of the body, and the vigour of the mind? It is not very difficult to comprehend why it has this terrible effect. When men are accuſtomed to a ſoft and voluptuous life, can they be very fit for undergoing the fatigues and hardſhips of war! Are they qualified for ſuffering the rigour of the ſeaſons; for enduring hunger and thirſt; for paſſing whole nights without ſleep upon occaſion; for going through continual exerciſe and action; for facing danger and de-

ſpiſing death? The natural effect of voluptuouſneſs and delicacy, which are the inſeparable companions of luxury, is to render men ſubject to a multitude of falſe wants and neceſſities, to make their happineſs depend upon a thouſand trifling conveniences and ſuperfluities, which they can no longer be without, and to give them an unreaſonable fondneſs for life, on account of a thouſand ſecret ties and engagements, that endear it to them, and which, by ſtifling in them the great motives of glory, of zeal for their prince, and love for their country, render them fearful and cowardly, and hinder them from expoſing themſelves to dangers, which may in a moment deprive them of all thoſe things wherein they place their felicity.

SECT. II. *The abject Submiſſion and Slavery of the Perſians.*

WE are told by Plato, that this was one of the cauſes of the declenſion of the Perſian empire. And, indeed, what contributes moſt to the preſervation of ſtates, and renders their arms victorious, is not the number but the vigour and courage of their armies; and as it was finely ſaid by one of the ancients "[m] from the day a man loſeth his liberty, he loſeth one half of his ancient virtue." He is no longer concerned for the proſperity of the ſtate, to which he looks upon himſelf as an alien; and having loſt the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the ſucceſs of public affairs, about the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumſtances allow him to claim no ſhare, and by which, his own private condition is not altered or improved. It may truly be ſaid, that the reign of Cyrus was a reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner; nor did he think that a deſpotic power was worthy of a king; or that there was any great glory in ruling an empire of ſlaves. His tent was always open; and free acceſs allowed to every one that deſired to ſpeak to him. He did not live retired, but was viſible, acceſſible and affable to all; heard their complaints, and with his own eyes obſerved and rewarded merit; invited to his table not only his general officers and prime miniſters,

[m] Hom. Odyſſ. v. 322.

but even ſubalterns and ſometimes whole companies of ſoldiers. *The ſimplicity and frugality of his table made him capable of giving ſuch entertainments frequently. His aim therein was to animate his officers and ſoldiers, to inſpire them with courage and reſolution, to attach them to his perſon rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly eſpouſe his glory, and ſtill more the intereſt and proſperity of the ſtate. This is what may truly be called the art of governing and commanding.

In the reading of Xenophon, with what pleaſure do we obſerve, not only thoſe fine turns of wit, that juſtneſs and ingenuity in their anſwers and repartees, that delicacy in jeſting and raillery; but at the ſame time that amiable cheerfulneſs and gaiety which enlivened their entertainments, from which all vanity and luxury were baniſhed, and in which the principal ſeaſoning was a decent and becoming freedom, that prevented all conſtraint, and a kind of familiarity, which was ſo far from leſſening their reſpect for the prince, that it gave ſuch a life and ſpirit to it, as nothing but a real affection and tenderneſs could produce. I may venture to ſay, that by ſuch a conduct as this a prince doubles and trebles his army at a ſmall expence. Thirty thouſand men of this ſort are preferable to millions of ſuch ſlaves, as the Perſians became afterwards. In time of action, on a deciſive day of battle, this truth is moſt evident; and the prince is more ſenſible of it than any body elſe. At the battle of Thymbræa when Cyrus's horſe fell under him, Xenophon takes notice how much it concerns a commander to be loved by his ſoldiers. The danger of the king's perſon became the danger of the army; and his troops on that occaſion gave incredible proofs of their courage and bravery.

Things were not carried on in the ſame manner under the greateſt part of his ſucceſſors. Their only care was to ſupport the pomp of ſovereignty. I muſt confeſs, their outward ornaments and enſigns of royalty did not a little contribute to that end. A purple robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their feet, a tiara, worn upright on

* *Tantas vires habet frugalitas Principis, ut tot impendiis tot erogationibus ſola ſufficiat.* PLIN. in Paneg. Traj.

their heads with an imperial diadem round it, a golden ſceptre in their hands, a magnificent throne, a numerous and ſhining court, a multitude of officers and guards; theſe things muſt needs conduce to heighten the ſplendor of royalty; but all this, when this is all, is of little or no value. What is that king in reality, who loſes all his merit and his dignity, when he puts off his ornaments.

Some of the eaſtern kings, to procure the greater reverence to their perſons, generally kept themſelves ſhut up in their palaces, and ſeldom ſhowed themſelves to their ſubjects. We have already ſeen that Dejoces, the firſt king of the Medes, at his acceſſion to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became very common, in all the eaſtern countries. But it is a great miſtake, that a prince cannot deſcend from his grandeur, by a ſort of familiarity, without debaſing or leſſening his greatneſs. Artaxerxes did not think ſo; and [n] Plutarch obſerves that that prince, and queen Statira, his wife, took a pleaſure in being viſible and of eaſy acceſs to their people; and by ſo doing were but the more reſpected.

Among the Perſians no ſubject whatſoever was allowed to appear in the king's preſence without proſtrating himſelf before him: and this law which, [o] Seneca with good reaſon calls a Perſian ſlavery, *Perſicam ſervitutem*, extended alſo to foreigners. We ſhall find afterwards, that ſeveral Grecians refuſed to comply with it, looking upon ſuch a ceremony as derogatory to men, born and bred in the boſom of liberty. Some of them, leſs ſcrupulous, did ſubmit to it, but not without great reluctancy; and we are told that one of them, in order to cover the ſhame of ſuch a ſervile proſtration, [p] purpoſely let fall his ring, when he came near the king, that he might have occaſion to bend his body on another account. But it would have been criminal for any of the natives of the country to heſitate or deliberate about an homage which the kings exacted from them with the utmoſt rigour.

What the ſcripture relates of two ſovereigns, [q] on one

[n] In Artax. p. 1013.

[o] Lib. iii. de Benef. c. 12. & lib. iii. de Ira, c. 17.

[p] Ælian. l. i. Var. Hiſtor. cap. xxi.

[q] Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. c. iii. Darius the Mede, Dan. c. vi.

hand, whereof the one commanded all his ſubjects, on pain of death, to proſtrate themſelves before his image; and the other on the ſame penalty ſuſpended all acts of religion, with regard to all the gods in general, except to himſelf only; and on the other hand, of the ready and blind obedience of the whole city of Babylon, who ran all together on the firſt ſignal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king excluſively of all the powers of heaven: all this ſhows to what an extravagant exceſs the eaſtern kings carried their pride, and the people their flattery and ſervitude.

So great was the diſtance between the Perſian king and his ſubjects, that the latter, of what rank or quality ſoever, whether ſatrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers to the king, were only looked upon as ſlaves; whereas the king himſelf was always conſidered, not only as their ſovereign lord and abſolute maſter, but as a kind of divinity. [r] In a word, the peculiar character of the Aſiatics, and of the Perſians more particularly than any other, was ſervitude and ſlavery; which made [s] Cicero ſay, that the deſpotic power, ſome were endeavouring to eſtabliſh in the Roman commonwealth, was an inſupportable yoke, not only to a Roman, but even to a Perſian.

It was therefore this arrogant haughtineſs of the princes on one hand, and this abject ſubmiſſion of the people on the other, which, according to Plato, [t] were the principal cauſes of the Perſian empire, by diſſolving all the ties wherewith a king is united to his ſubjects, and the ſubjects to their king. Such an haughtineſs extinguiſhes all affection and humanity in the former; and ſuch an abject ſtate of ſlavery leaves the people neither courage, zeal, nor gratitude. The Perſian kings governed and commanded only by threats and menaces, and the ſubjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with unwillingneſs and reluctance. This is the idea Xerxes himſelf gives us of them in Herodotus, where that prince is repreſented as wondering how the Grecians, who were a free people, could go to battle with a good will and inclination. How could any thing great or noble be expected from men, ſo diſpirited and depreſſed by ſlavery, as the

[r] Plut. in Apopth. p. 213. [s] Lib. x. Epiſt. ad Attic.
[t] Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 697.

Perſians were, and reduced to ſuch an abject ſervitude; which, to uſe the words of Longinus, [u] is a kind of impriſonment wherein a man's ſoul may be ſaid in ſome ſort to grow little and contracted?

I am unwilling to ſay it; but I do not know, whether the great Cyrus himſelf did not contribute to introduce among the Perſians, both that extravagant pride in their kings, and that abject ſubmiſſion and flattery in the people. It was in that pompous ceremony, which I have ſeveral times mentioned, that the Perſians (till then very jealous of their liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a ſhameful proſtitution of it by any mean behaviour or ſervile compliances) firſt bent the knee before their prince, and ſtooped to a poſture of adoration. Nor was this an effect of chance: for Xenophon intimates clearly enough that Cyrus [x] who deſired to have that homage paid him, had appointed perſons on purpoſe to begin it; whoſe example was accordingly followed by the multitude, and by the Perſians as well as the other nations. In theſe little tricks and ſtratagems we no longer diſcern that nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul which had ever been conſpicuous in that prince till this occaſion: and I ſhould be apt to think, that being arrived at the utmoſt pitch of glory and power, he could no longer reſiſt thoſe violent attacks, wherewith proſperity is always aſſaulting even the beſt of princes [y] *ſecundæ res ſapientium animos fatigant*; and that at laſt pride and vanity, which are almoſt inſeparable from ſovereign power, forced him, and in a manner tore him from himſelf and his own natural inclinations: [z] *Vi dominationis convulſis et mutatis.*

SECT. III. *The wrong Education of their Princes, another Cauſe of the Declenſion of the Perſian Empire.*

IT is Plato [a] ſtill, the prince of philoſophers, who makes this reflection; and we ſhall find, if we narrowly examine the fact in queſtion, how ſolid and judicious it is, and how inexcuſable Cyrus's conduct was in this reſpect.

Never had any man more reaſon than Cyrus to be ſenſi-

[u] Cap. xxxv. [x] Cyrop. l. ii. p. 215. [y] Salluſt.
[z] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 48. [a] Lib. iii. de Leg. p. 694, 95.

ble, how highly neceſſary a good education is to a young prince. He knew the whole value of it with regard to himſelf, and had found all the advantages of it by his own experience. [b] What he moſt earneſtly recommended to his officers, in that fine diſcourſe he made to them, after the taking of Babylon, in order to exhort them to maintain the glory and reputation they had acquired, was to educate their children in the ſame manner, as they knew they were educated in Perſia, and to perſevere themſelves in the practice of the ſame manners, as were practiſed there.

Would one believe, that a prince, who ſpoke and thought in this manner, could ever have entirely neglected the education of his own children? Yet this is what happened to Cyrus. Forgetting that he was a father, and employing himſelf wholly about his conqueſts, he left that care entirely to women, that is, to princeſſes, brought up in a country, where vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs reigned in the higheſt degree; for the queen his wife was of Media. And in the ſame taſte and manner were the two young princes, Cambyſes and Smerdis, educated. Nothing they aſked was ever refuſed them: nor were their deſires only granted, but prevented. The great maxim was, that their attendants ſhould croſs them in nothing, never contradict them nor ever make uſe of reproofs or remonſtrances with them. No one opened his mouth in their preſence, but to praiſe and commend what they ſaid and did. Every one cringed and ſtooped and bent the knee before them: and it was thought eſſential to their greatneſs, to place an infinite diſtance between them and the reſt of mankind, as if they had been of a different ſpecies from them. It is Plato that informs us of all theſe particulars: for Xenophon, probably to ſpare his hero, ſays not one word of the manner in which theſe princes were brought up, though he gives us ſo ample an account of the education of their father.

What ſurpriſes me the moſt is, that Cyrus did not, at leaſt, take them along with him in his laſt campaigns, in order to draw them out of that ſoft and effeminate courſe of life, and to inſtruct them in the art of war; for they muſt needs

[b] Cyrop. l. vii. p. 200.

have been of ſufficient years: but perhaps the women oppoſed his deſign, and overruled him.

Whatever the obſtacle was, the effect of the education of theſe princes was ſuch as ought to be expected from it. Cambyſes came out of that ſchool what he is repreſented in hiſtory, an obſtinate and ſelf-conceited prince, full of arrogance and vanity, abandoned to the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes of drunkenneſs and debauchery, cruel and inhuman, even to the cauſing of his own brother to be murdered in conſequence of a dream; in a word, a furious, frantic mad man, who by his ill conduct brought the empire to the brink of deſtruction.

His father, ſays Plato, left him at his death a great many vaſt provinces, immenſe riches, with innumerable forces by ſea and land: but he had not given him the means for preſerving them, by teaching him the right uſe of ſuch power.

This philoſopher makes the ſame reflections with regard to Darius and Xerxes. The former, not being the ſon of a king, had not been brought up in the ſame effeminate manner as princes were; but aſcended the throne with a long habit of induſtry, great temper and moderation, a courage little inferior to that of Cyrus, and by which he added to the empire almoſt as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was no better a father than him, and reaped no benefit from the fault of his predeceſſor, in neglecting the education of his children. Accordingly, his ſon Xerxes was little better than a ſecond Cambyſes.

From all this Plato, after having ſhown what numberleſs rocks and quickſands, almoſt unavoidable, lie in the way of perſons bred in the arms of wealth and greatneſs, concludes, that one principal cauſe of the declenſion and ruin of the Perſian empire, was the bad education of their princes; becauſe thoſe firſt examples had an influence upon, and became a kind of rule to, all their ſucceſſors, under whom every thing ſtill degenerated more and more, till at laſt their luxury exceeded all bounds and reſtraints.

SECT. IV. *Their Breach of Faith, or Want of Sincerity.*

[c]WE are informed by Xenophon, that one of the cauſes, both of the great corruption of manners among the Perſians, and of the deſtruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. Formerly, ſays he, the king, and thoſe that governed under him, thought it an indiſpenſable duty to keep their word, and inviolably to obſerve all treaties, into which they had entered, with the ſolemnity of an oath; and that even with reſpect to thoſe, that had rendered themſelves moſt unworthy of ſuch treatment, through their perfidiouſneſs and inſincerity: and it was by this true policy and prudent conduct, that they gained the abſolute confidence, both of their own ſubjects, and of all their neighbours and allies. This is a very great encomium given by the hiſtorian to the Perſians, which undoubtedly belongs to the reign of the great Cyrus; [d]though Xenophon applies it likewiſe to that of the younger Cyrus, whoſe grand maxim was, as he tells us, never to violate his faith upon any pretence whatſoever, with regard either to any word he had given, any promiſe made, or any treaty he had concluded. Theſe princes had a juſt idea of the regal dignity, and rightly judged, that if probity and truth were renounced by the reſt of mankind, they ought to find a ſanctuary in the heart of a king; who being the bond and centre, as it were, of ſociety, ſhould alſo be the protector and avenger of faith engaged; which is the very foundation whereon the other depends.

Such ſentiments as theſe, ſo noble, and ſo worthy of perſons born for government, did not laſt long. A falſe prudence, and a ſpurious artificial policy ſoon ſucceeded in their place. Inſtead of faith, probity, and true merit, ſays Xenophon, [e]which heretofore the prince uſed to cheriſh and diſtinguiſh, all the chief officers of the court began to be filled with thoſe pretended zealous ſervants of the king, who ſacrifice every thing to his humour and ſuppoſed in-

[c] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

[d] De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 267. [e] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 239.

tereſts; * who hold it as a maxim, that falſehood and deceit, perfidiouſneſs and perjury, if boldly and artfully put in practice, are the ſhorteſt and ſureſt expedients for bringing about his enterpriſes and deſigns; who look upon a ſcrupulous adherence in a prince to his word, and to the engagements into which he has entered, as an effect of puſillanimity, incapacity, and want of underſtanding; and whoſe opinion, in ſhort, is, that a man is unqualified for government, if he does not prefer reaſons and conſiderations of ſtate before the exact obſervation of treaties, though concluded in ever ſo ſolemn and ſacred a manner.

The Aſiatic nations, continues Xenophon, ſoon imitated their prince, who became their example and inſtructor in double-dealing and treachery. They ſoon gave themſelves up to violence, injuſtice, and impiety: and from thence proceeds that ſtrange alteration and difference we find in their manners, as alſo the contempt they conceived for their ſovereigns, which is both the natural conſequence and puniſhment of the little regard princes pay to the moſt ſacred and awful ſolemnities of religion.

Surely the oath, by which treaties are ſealed and ratified, and the Deity brought in not only as preſent, but as guarantee of the conditions ſtipulated, is a moſt ſacred and auguſt ceremony, very proper for the ſubjecting of earthly princes to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth, who alone is qualified to judge them; and for the keeping all human majeſty within the bounds of its duty, by making it appear before the majeſty of God, in reſpect of which it is as nothing. Now, if princes will teach their people not to ſtand in fear of the Supreme Being, how ſhall they be able to ſecure their reſpect and reverence to themſelves? When once that fear comes to be extinguiſhed in the ſubjects as well as in the prince, what will become of fidelity and obedience, and by what ſtays or pillars ſhall the throne be ſupported? [f] Cyrus had good reaſon to ſay, that he looked upon none as good ſervants and faithful ſubjects,

[f] Cyrop. l. viii. p. 204.

* Επι το κατεργαζεσθαι ων επιθυμοιη, ουνομωτατην οδον νομιζειν ειναι δια την επιορκιαν, και ψευδεσθαι, και εξαπατων· το δε απλουν τε και αληθες, το αυτο τουτο την αληθειαν ειναι. De exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 292.

but ſuch as had a ſenſe of religion, and a reverence for the Deity: nor is it at all aſtoniſhing, that the contempt which an impious prince who has no regard to the ſanctity of oaths, ſhows of God and religion, ſhould ſhake the foundations of the firmeſt and beſt-eſtabliſhed empires, and ſooner or later occaſion their utter deſtruction. Kings, ſays [g] Plutarch, when any revolution happens in their dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of their ſubjects unfaithfulneſs and diſloyalty: but they do them wrong; and forget, that it was themſelves who gave them the firſt leſſons of their diſloyalty, by ſhowing no regard to juſtice and fidelity, which on all occaſions they ſacrificed without ſcruple to their own particular intereſts.

[g] Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE *ORIGIN AND FIRST SETTLEMENT* OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE.

OF all the ancient nations, ſcarce have any been ſo highly celebrated, or furniſhed hiſtory with ſo many valuable monuments and illuſtrious examples as Greece. In what light ſoever ſhe is conſidered, whether for the glory of her arms, the wiſdom of her laws, or the ſtudy and improvement of arts and ſciences, all theſe ſhe carried to the utmoſt degree of perfection; and it may truly be ſaid, that in all theſe reſpects ſhe has in ſome meaſure been the ſchool of mankind.

It is impoſſible not to be very much affected with the hiſtory of ſuch a nation; eſpecially when we conſider that it has been tranſmitted to us by writers of extraordinary merit, many of whom diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their ſwords as by their pens; and were as great commanders and able ſtateſmen, as excellent hiſtorians. I confeſs it is a vaſt advantage to have ſuch men for guides; men of an exquiſite judgment and conſummate prudence; of a juſt and perfect taſte in every reſpect; and who furniſh not only the facts and thoughts, as well as the expreſſions wherewith they are to be repreſented; but what is more, to furniſh all the proper reflections that are to accompany thoſe facts, and which are the moſt uſeful improvements reſulting from hiſtory. Theſe are the rich ſources from whence I ſhall

draw all that I have to ſay, after I have previouſly enquired into the firſt origin and eſtabliſhment of the Grecian ſtates. As this enquiry muſt be dry, and not capable of affording much delight to the reader, I ſhall be as brief as poſſible. But before I enter upon that, I think it neceſſary to draw a kind of a ſhort plan of the ſituation of the country, and of the ſeveral parts that compoſe it.

ARTICLE I.

A geographical Deſcription of ancient Greece.

ANCIENT Greece, which is now the ſouth part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the eaſt by the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago; on the ſouth by the Cretan, or Candian Sea; on the weſt by the Ionian Sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace.

The conſtituent parts of ancient Greece are, Epirus, Peloponneſus, Greece properly ſo called, Theſſaly, and Macedonia.

EPIRUS. This province is ſituate to the weſt, and divided from Theſſaly and Macedonia by Mount Pindus and the Acroceraunian mountains.

The moſt remarkable inhabitants of Epirus are, the MOLOSSIANS, whoſe chief city is Dodona, famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter. The CHAONIANS, whoſe principal city is Oricum. The THESPROTIANS, whoſe city is Buthrotum, where was the palace and reſidence of Pyrrhus. The ACARNANIANS, whoſe city was Ambracia, which gives its name to the gulf. Near to this ſtood Actium, famous for the victory of Auguſtus Cæſar, who built over againſt that city, on the other ſide of the gulf, a city named Nicopolis. There were two little rivers in Epirus, very famous in fabulous ſtory, Cocytus and Acheron.

Epirus muſt have been very well peopled in former times; as [a] Polybius relates, that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, deſtroyed ſeventy cities in that country, the greateſt part of which

[a] Apud Strab. l. vii. p. 322.

belonged to the Moloſſians; and that he carried away from thence no leſs than a hundred and fifty thouſand priſoners.

PELOPONNESUS. This is a peninſula, now called the Morea, joined to the reſt of Greece only by the Iſthmus of Corinth, that is but ſix miles broad. It is well known that ſeveral princes have attempted in vain to cut through this Iſthmus.

The parts of Peloponneſus are, ACHAIA, properly ſo called, whoſe chief cities are Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, &c. ELIS, in which is Olympia, otherwiſe called Piſa, ſeated on the river Alpheus, upon the banks of which the Olympic games uſed to be celebrated. Cyllene, the country of Mercury. MESSENIA, in which are the cities of Meſſene, Pylos, in the laſt of which Neſtor was born, and Corona. ARCADIA, in which ſtood the cities of Tegea, Stymphalos, Mantinea, and Megalopolis, Polybius's native place. LACONIA, wherein ſtood Sparta, or Lacedæmon, and Amyclæ; Mount Taygetus; the river Eurotas, and the cape of Tenarus. ARGOLIS, in was which the city of Argos, called alſo Hippium, famous for the temple of Juno; Nemea, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Trœzen, and Epidaurus, wherein was the temple of Æſculapius.

Greece properly ſo called.

THE principal parts of this country were, ÆTOLIA in which were the cities of Chalcis, Calydon and Olenus. DORIS, LOCRIS, inhabited by the Ozolæ. Naupactum, now called Lepanto, famous for the defeat of the Turks in 1571. PHOCIS. Antycyra. Delphos at the foot of Mount Parnaſſus, famous for the oracles delivered there. In this country alſo was Mount Helicon. BŒOTIA. Orchomenos. Theſpia. Cheronea, Plutarch's native country. Platæa, famous for the defeat of Mardonius. Thebes. Aulis, famous for its port, from whence the Grecian army ſet ſail for the ſiege of Troy. Leuctra, celebrated for the victory of Epaminondas. ATTICA. Megara. Eleuſis. Decelia. Marathon, where Miltiades defeated the Perſian army. Athens, whoſe ports were Piræeus, Munichia, and Phalerus; and mountains Hymettus and Cithæron. LOCRIS.

THESSALY. The moſt remarkable towns of this province were, Gomphi, Pharſalia, near which Julius Cæſar defeated Pompey. Magneſia. Methone, at the ſiege of which Philip loſt his eye. Thermopylæ, a narrow ſtrait, famous for the defeat of Xerxes's numerous army by the vigorous reſiſtance of three hundred Spartans. Phthia. Thebes. Lariſſa. Demetrias. The delightful valleys of Tempe, near the banks of the river Peneus. Olympus, Pelion, and Oſſa, three mountains celebrated in fabulous ſtory for the battle of the giants.

MACEDONIA. I ſhall only mention a few of the principal towns of this country. Epidamnus, or Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Appollonia. Pella, the capital of the country, and the native place of Philip and of his ſon Alexander the Great. Ægæa. Ædeſſa. Pallene. Olynthus, from whence the Olynthiacs of Demoſthenes took their name. Torone. Arcanthus. Theſſalonica, now called Salonichi. Stagira, the place of Ariſtotle's birth. Amphipolis. Philippi, famous for the victory gained there by Auguſtus and Antony over Brutus and Caſſius. Scotuſſa. Mount Athos; and the river Strimon.

The Grecian Iſles.

There is a great number of iſlands contiguous to Greece, that are very famous in hiſtory. In the Ionian Sea, Corcyra with a town of the ſame name, now called Corfu. Cephalene and Zacynthus, now Cephalona and Zant. Ithaca, the country of Ulyſſes, and Dulichium. Near the promontory Malea, over-againſt Laconia, is Cithera. In the Saronic gulph, are Ægina and Salamine, ſo famous for the naval battle between Xerxes and the Grecians. Between Greece and Aſia lie the Sporades; and the Cyclades, the moſt noted of which are Andros, Delos, and Paros, anciently famous for fine marble. Higher up in the Ægean Sea is Eubœa, now Negropont, ſeparated from the main land by a ſmall arm of the ſea, called Euripus. The moſt remarkable city of this iſle was Chalcis. Towards the north is Cyrus, and a good deal higher Lemnos, now called Stalimene; and ſtill farther Samothrace. Lower down is Leſbos, whoſe principal city

was Mitylene, from whence the iſle has ſince taken the name of Metelin. Chios, Scio, renowned for excellent wine; and, laſtly, Samos. Some of theſe laſt-mentioned iſles are reckoned to belong to Aſia.

The iſland of Crete, or Candia, is the largeſt of all the iſles, contiguous to Greece. It has to the north the Ægean Sea, or the Archipelago; and to the ſouth the African Ocean. Its principal towns were, Gortyna, Cydon, Gnoſſus; its mountains Dicte, Ida, and Corycus. Its labyrinth is famous all over the world.

The Grecians had colonies in moſt of theſe iſles.

They had likewiſe ſettlements in Sicily, and in part of Italy towards Calabria[b], which places are for that reaſon called Græcia Magna.

[c] But their grand ſettlement was in Aſia Minor, and particularly in Æolis, Ionia, and Doris. The principal towns of Æolis are, Cumæ, Phocæa, Elea. Of Ionia, Smyrna, Clazomene, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Epheſus. Of Doris, Halicarnaſſus and Cnidos.

They had alſo a great number of colonies diſperſed up and down in different parts of the world, whereof I ſhall give ſome account as occaſion ſhall offer.

ARTICLE II.

Diviſion of the Grecian Hiſtory into four ſeveral Ages.

THE Grecian hiſtory may be divided into four different ages, all noted by ſo many memorable epochas, all which together include the ſpace of 2154 years.

The firſt age extends from the foundation of the ſeveral petty kingdoms of Greece (beginning with that of Sicyone, which is the moſt ancient) to the ſiege of Troy, and comprehends about a thouſand years, namely, from the year of the world 1820 to the year 2820.

The ſecond begins from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, at which period the Grecian hiſtory begins to be intermixed with that of the Perſians, and contains the ſpace of ſix hundred and ſixty-three years, from the year of the world 2820 to the year 3483.

[b] Strab. l. vi. p. 253. [c] Plin. l. vi. c. 2.

The third is dated from the beginning of the reign of Darius to the death of Alexander the Great, which is the fineſt part of the Grecian hiſtory, and takes in the term of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year of the world 3483 to the year 3681.

The fourth and laſt age commences from the death of Alexander, at which time the Grecians began to decline, and continues to their final ſubjection by the Romans. The epocha of the utter ruin and downfal of the Greeks may be dated, partly from the taking and deſtruction of Corinth by the conſul L. Mummius in 3858, partly from the extinction of the kingdom of the Seleucides in Aſia by Pompey, in the year of the world 3939, and of the kingdom of the Lagides in Egypt by Auguſtus, *anno mun.* 3974. This laſt age includes in all two hundred and ninety-three years.

Of theſe four diſtinct ages, I ſhall in this place only touch upon the two firſt in a very ſuccinct manner, juſt to give the reader ſome general notion of that obſcure period; becauſe thoſe times, at leaſt a great part of them have more of fable in them than of real hiſtory, and are wrapped up in ſuch darkneſs and obſcurity, as are very hard, if not impoſſible to penetrate: and I have often declared already, that ſuch a dark and laborious enquiry, though very uſeful for thoſe that are for going to the bottom of hiſtory, does not come within the plan of my deſign.

ARTICLE III.

The primitive Origin of the Grecians.

IN order to arrive at any certain knowledge concerning the firſt origin of the Grecian nations we muſt neceſſarily have recourſe to the accounts we have of it in holy ſcripture.

[d] Javan or Ion (for in the Hebrew the ſame letters differently pointed form theſe two different names) the ſon of Japhet, and grandſon of Noah, was certainly the father of all thoſe nations, that went under the general denomination of Greeks, though he has been looked upon as the father of

[d] Gen. x. 2.

the Ionians only, which were but one particular nation of the Greeks. But the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, Arabians and others, give no other appellation to the whole body of the Grecian nations, than that of Ionians. [e] And for this reaſon Alexander, in the predictions of Daniel, is mentioned under the name of the king of * Javan.

[f] Javan had four ſons, Eliza, Tarſis, Chittim, and Dodanim. As Javan was the original father of the Grecians in general, no doubt but his four ſons were the heads and founders of the chief tribes and principal branches of that nation, which became in ſucceeding ages ſo renowned for arts and arms.

Eliza is the ſame as Ellas, as it is rendered in the Chaldee tranſlation; and the word Ελληνες, which was uſed as the common appellation of the whole people, in the ſame manner as the word Ελλας was of the whole country, has no other derivation. The city of Elis, very ancient in Peloponneſus, the Elyſian fields, the river Eliſſus, or Iliſſus, have long retained the marks of their being derived from Eliza, and have contributed more to preſerve his memory, than the hiſtorians themſelves of the nation who were inquiſitive after foreign affairs, and but little acquainted with their own original; becauſe, as they had little or no knowledge of the true religion, they did not carry their enquiries ſo high. Upon which account, they themſelves derived the words Hellenes and Iones from another fountain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel; for I think myſelf obliged to give ſome account of their opinions alſo in this reſpect.

Tharſis was the ſecond ſon of Javan. He ſettled, as his brethren did, in ſome part of Greece, perhaps in Achaia or the neighbouring provinces, as Eliza did in Peloponneſus.

It is not to be doubted but that Chittim was the father of the Macedonians, according to the authority of the firſt book of the Maccabees [g], in the beginning of which it is ſaid, that Alexander, the ſon of Philip the Macedonian, went out of his country, which was that of Cetthim † [or Chittim] to make war againſt Darius, king of Perſia. And in the eighth

[e] Dan. viii. 21. [f] Gen. x. 4. [g] 1 Macc. i. 1.

* *Hircus caprarum rex Græciæ*; in the Hebrew, *rex Javan*.

† *Egreſſus de terra Cethim*.

chapter, ſpeaking of the Romans and their victories over the laſt kings of Macedonia, Philip and Perſeus*, the two laſt-mentioned princes are called kings of the Cetheans.

Dodanim. It is very probable, that Theſſaly and Epirus were the portion of the fourth ſon of Javan. The impious worſhip of Jupiter of Dodona, as well as the city Dodona† itſelf, are proofs that ſome remembrance of Dodanim had remained with the people, who derived their firſt eſtabliſhment and origin from him.

This is all that can be ſaid with any certainty concerning the true origin of the Grecian nations. The holy ſcripture, whoſe deſign is not to ſatisfy our curioſity, but to nouriſh and improve our piety, after ſcattering theſe few rays of light, leaves us in utter darkneſs concerning the reſt of their hiſtory; which therefore can only be collected from profane authors.

If we may believe [h] Pliny, the Grecians were ſo called from the name of an ancient king, of whom they had but a very uncertain tradition. Homer, in his poems calls them Hellenes, Danai, Argives, and Achaians. It is obſervable, that the word *Græcus* is not once uſed in Virgil.

The exceeding ruſticity of the firſt Grecians would appear incredible, if we could call in queſtion the teſtimony of their own hiſtorians upon that article. But a people, ſo vain of their origin, as to adorn it by fiction and fables, we may be ſure would never think of inventing any thing in its diſparagement. [i] Who would imagine that the people to whom the world is indebted for all her knowledge in literature and the ſciences, ſhould be deſcended from mere ſavages, who knew no other law than force, and were ignorant even of agriculture? And yet this appears plainly to be the caſe, from the divine honours they decreed to the perſon [k] who firſt taught them to feed upon acorns, as a more delicate and wholeſome nouriſhment than herbs. There was ſtill a great diſtance from this firſt improvement to a ſtate of urbanity and politeneſs. Nor did they indeed arrive at the latter, till after a long proceſs of time.

[h] Lib. iv. c. 7. [i] Pauſan. l. viii. p. 455, 456. [k] Pelaſgus.

* *Philippum et Perſeum Cethuorum regem.* ver. x.

† Δωδωνη απο Δωδωνα τα Διος ϗ Ευρωπης. STEPHANUS.

The weakeſt were not the laſt to underſtand the neceſſity of living together in ſociety, in order to defend themſelves againſt violence and oppreſſion. At firſt they built ſingle houſes at a diſtance from one another; the number of which inſenſibly increaſing, formed in time towns and cities. But the bare living together in ſociety was not ſufficient to poliſh ſuch a people. [1] Egypt and Phœnicia had the honour of doing this. Both theſe nations contributed to inſtruct and civilize the Grecians, by the colonies they ſent among them. The latter taught them navigation, writing, and commerce; the former the knowledge of their laws and polity, gave them a taſte for arts and ſciences, and initiated them into their myſteries.

[m] Greece, in her infant ſtate, was expoſed to great commotions and frequent revolutions; becauſe, as the people had no ſettled correſpondence, and no ſuperior power to give laws to the reſt, every thing was determined by force and violence. The ſtrongeſt invaded the lands of their neighbours, which they thought moſt fertile and delightful, and diſpoſſeſſed the lawful owners, who were obliged to ſeek new ſettlements elſewhere. As Attica was a dry and barren country, its inhabitants had not the ſame invaſions and outrages to fear, and therefore conſequently kept themſelves in poſſeſſion of their ancient territories; for which reaſon they took the name of αυτοχθόνες, that is, men born in the country where they lived, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the nations that had almoſt all tranſplanted themſelves from place to place.

Such were in general the firſt beginnings of Greece. We muſt now enter into a more particular detail, and give a brief account of the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral different ſtates, whereof the whole country conſiſted.

ARTICLE IV.

The different States into which Greece was divided.

IN thoſe early times kingdoms were but inconſiderable, and of very ſmall extent, the title of kingdom being

[1] Herod. l. 2. c. 58. & l. v. c. 58—60. Plin. l. v. c. 12. & l. vii. c. 56.

[m] Thucid. lib. i. p. 2.

often given to a ſingle city, with a few leagues of land depending upon it.

A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 2089. SICYON. The moſt ancient kingdom of Greece was that of Sicyon; whoſe kingdom is placed by Euſebius thirteen hundred and thirty years before the firſt Olympiad. Its duration is believed to have been about a thouſand years.

A. M. 2148. Ant. J. C. 1856. °ARGOS. The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponneſus, began a thouſand and eighty years before the firſt Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The firſt king of it was INACHUS. His ſucceſſors were, his ſon PHORONEUS; APIS; ARGUS, from whom the country took its name; and after ſeveral others, GELANOR, who was dethroned and expelled this kingdom by DANAUS, the Egyptian. The ſucceſſors of this laſt were firſt LYCEUS, the ſon of his brother Ægyptus, who alone, of fifty brothers, eſcaped the cruelty of the Danaides; then ABAS, PROETUS, and ACRISIUS.

A. M. 2530. Ant. J. C. 1474. Of Danæ, daughter to the laſt, was born Perſeus, who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately killed his grandfather Acriſius, and not being able to bear the ſight of Argos, where he committed that involuntary murder, withdrew to Mycenæ, and there fixed the ſeat of his kingdom.

MYCENÆ. Perſeus then tranſlated the ſeat of the kingdom from Argos to Mycenæ. He left ſeveral ſons, behind him; among others Alcæus, Sthenelus and Electryon; Alcæus was the father of Amphitryon, Sthenelus of Euryſtheus; and Electryon of Alcmena. Amphitryon married Alcmena, upon whom Jupiter begat Hercules.

Euryſtheus and Hercules came into the world the ſame day; but as the birth of the former was by Juno's management antecedent to that of the latter, Hercules was forced to be ſubject to him, and was obliged by his order to undertake the twelve labours, ſo celebrated in fable.

The kings who reigned at Mycenæ, after Perſeus, were, ELECTRYON, STHENELUS, and EURYSTHEUS. The laſt, after the death of Hercules, declared open war againſt his deſcendants, apprehending they might ſome time or other attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happened, was done

° Euſeb. in Chron.

by the Heraclidæ; for having killed Euryſtheus in battle, they entered victorious into Peloponneſus, and made themſelves maſters of the country. But, as this happened before the time determined by fate, a plague enſued, which with the direction of an oracle, obliged him to quit the country. Three years after this, being deceived by the ambiguous expreſſion of the oracle, they made a ſecond attempt, which likewiſe proved fruitleſs. This was about twenty years before the taking of Troy.

ATREUS, the ſon of Pelops, uncle by the mother's ſide to Euryſtheus, was the latter's ſucceſſor. And in this manner the crown came to the deſcendants of Pelops, from whom Peloponneſus, which was before called Apia, derived its name. The bloody hatred of the two brothers, Atreus and Thyeſtes, is known to all the world.

PLISTHENES, the ſon of Atreus, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Mycenæ, which he left to his ſon AGAMEMNON, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Oreſtes. The kingdom of Mycenæ was filled with enormous and horrible crimes, from the time it came into the family of Pelops.

TISAMENES and PENTHILUS, ſons of Oreſtes, reigned after their father, and were at laſt driven out of Peloponneſus by the Heraclidæ.

ATHENS. CECROPS, a native of Egypt, was the founder of this kingdom. Having ſettled in Attica, he divided all the country, ſubject to him, into twelve diſtricts. He alſo eſtabliſhed the Areopagus. A. M. 3448. Ant. J. C. 1556.

This auguſt tribunal, in the reign of his ſucceſſor CRANAUS, adjudged the famous difference between Neptune and Mars. In his time happened Deucalion's flood. The deluge of Ogyges in Attica was much more ancient, being a thouſand and twenty years before the firſt Olympiad, and conſequently in the year of the world 2208.

AMPHYCTION, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy between twelve nations, which aſſembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, there to offer their common ſacrifices, and to conſult together upon their affairs in general, as alſo upon the affairs of each nation in particular. This convention was called the aſſembly of the Amphyctions.

The reign of ERECTHEUS is remarkable for the arrival of Ceres in Attica, after the rape of her daughter Proſerpine, as alſo for the inſtitution of the myſteries at Eleuſis.

A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284. The reign of ÆGEUS, the ſon of Pandion, is the moſt illuſtrious period of the hiſtory of the heroes. In his time are placed the expedition of the Argonauts; the celebrated labours of Hercules; the war of Minos, ſecond king of Crete, againſt the Athenians; the ſtory of Theſeus and Ariadne.

THESEUS ſucceeded his father Ægeus. Cecrops had divided Attica into twelve boroughs, or twelve diſtricts, ſeparated from each other. Theſeus brought the people to underſtand the advantages of common government, and united the twelve boroughs into one city or body politic, in which the whole authority was united.

CODRUS was the laſt king of Athens; he devoted himſelf to die for his people.

A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 1070. After him the title of king was extinguiſhed among the Athenians. MEDON, his ſon, was ſet at the head of the commonwealth with the title of archon, that is to ſay, preſident or governor. The firſt archontes were for life; but the Athenians, growing weary of a government, which they ſtill thought bore too great a reſemblance to royal power, made their archontes elective every ten years, and at laſt reduced it to an annual office.

A. M. 2549. Ant. J. C. 1455. THEBES. Cadmus, who came by ſea from the coaſt of Phœnicia, that is, from about Tyre and Sidon, ſeized upon that part of the country, which was afterwards called Bœotia. He built there the city of Thebes, or at leaſt a citadel, which from his own name he called Cadmæa, and there fixed the ſeat of his power and dominions.

The fatal misfortune of Laius, one of his ſucceſſors, and of Jocaſta his wife, of Oedipus their ſon, of Eteocles and Polynices, who were born of the inceſtuous marriage of Jocaſta with Oedipus, have furniſhed ample matter for fabulous narration and theatrical repreſentations.

SPARTA, or LACEDÆMON. It is ſuppoſed, that LELIÆ, the firſt king of Laconia, began his reign about 1516 years before the Chriſtian æra.

TYNDARUS, the ninth king of Lacedæmon, had, by Leda, Caſtor and Pollux, who were twins, beſides Helena, and Clitemneſtra, the wife of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Having ſurvived his two ſons, the twins, he began to think of chooſing a ſucceſſor, by looking out for a huſband for his daughter Helena. All the pretenders to this princeſs bound themſelves by oath, to abide by, and entirely ſubmit to, the choice which the lady herſelf ſhould make, who determined in favour of Menelaus. She had not lived above three years with her huſband, before ſhe was carried off by Alexander Paris, ſon of Priam, king of the Trojans; which rape was the cauſe of the Trojan war. Greece did not properly begin to know or experience her united ſtrength, till the famous ſiege of that city, where the Achilleſes, the Ajaxes, the Neſtors, and the Ulyſſeſes, gave Aſia ſufficient reaſons to forbode her future ſubjection to their poſterity. The Greeks took Troy, after a ten years ſiege, much about the time that Jephtha governed the people of God, that is, according to Biſhop Uſher, in the year of the world 2820, and 1184 years before Jeſus Chriſt. This epocha is famous in hiſtory, and ſhould carefully be remembered as well as that of the olympiads.

An olympiad is the revolution of four complete years from one celebration of the olympic games to another. We ſhall elſewhere give an account of the inſtitution of theſe games, which were celebrated every four years, near the town of Piſa, otherwiſe called Olympia.

The common æra of the olympiads begins in the ſummer of the year of the world 3228, 776 years before Jeſus Chriſt, from the games in which Corebus won the prize in the races.

Fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponneſus, and ſeized Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles, ſons of Ariſtodemus, began to reign together, and from their time the ſceptre always continued jointly in the hands of the deſcendants of thoſe two families. Many years after this, Lycurgus inſtituted that body of laws for the Spartan ſtate, which rendered both the legiſlature and the republic ſo famous in hiſtory: I ſhall ſpeak of them at large in the ſequel.

A. M. 2628. Ant. J. C. 1376. CORINTH. Corinth began later, than the other cities I have been ſpeaking of, to be governed by particular kings. It was at firſt ſubject to thoſe of Argos and Mycenæ; at laſt Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, made himſelf maſter of it. But his diſcendants were diſpoſſeſſed of the throne by the Heraclidæ, about 110 years after the ſiege of Troy.

The regal power after this came to the deſcendants of Bacchis, under whom the monarchy was changed into an ariſtocracy, that is, the reins of the government were in the hands of the elders, who annually choſe from among themſelves a chief magiſtrate whom they called Prytanis. At laſt Cypſelus having gained the people, uſurped the ſupreme authority, which he tranſmitted to his ſon Periander; who was ranked among the Grecian ſages, on account of the love he bore to learning, and the protection and encouragement he gave to learned men.

A. M. 3191. Ant. J. C. 1831. MACEDONIA. It was a long time before the Greeks had any great regard to Macedonia. Her kings, living retired in woods and mountains, ſeemed not to be conſidered as a part of Greece. They pretended, that their kings, of whom CARANUS was the firſt, were deſcended from Hercules. Philip and his ſon Alexander raiſed the glory of this kingdom to a very high pitch. It had ſubſiſted 471 years before the death of Alexander, and continued 155 more, till Perſeus was beaten and taken by the Romans; in all 626 years.

ARTICLE V.

Colonies of the Greeks ſent into Aſia Minor.

WE have already obſerved, that fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, the Heraclidæ recovered Peloponneſus, after having defeated the Pelopidæ, that is, Tiſamenes and Penthilus, ſons of Oreſtes; and that they divided the kingdoms of Mycenæ, Argos, and Lacedæmon among them.

So great a revolution as this almoſt changed the face of the country, and made way for ſeveral very famous tranſmigrations; which the better to underſtand, and to have the

clearer idea of the ſituation of the Grecian nations, as alſo of the four dialects, or different idioms of ſpeech that prevailed among them, it will be neceſſary to look a little farther back into hiſtory.

[y] Deucalion, who reigned in Theſſaly, and under whom happened the flood that bears his name, had by Pyrrha his wife, two ſons, Helenus and Amphyction. This laſt, having driven Cranaus out of Athens, reigned there in his place. Helenus, if we may believe the hiſtorians of his country, gave the name of Helenes to the Greeks: he had three ſons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

Æolus, who was the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and beſides Theſſaly had Locris and Bœotia added to his dominions. Several of his deſcendants went into Peloponneſus with Pelops, the ſon of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, from whom Peloponneſus took its name, and ſettled themſelves in Laconia.

The country contiguous to Parnaſſus, fell to the ſhare of Dorus, and from him was called Doris.

Xuthus, compelled by his brothers, upon ſome particular diſguſt, to quit his country, retired into Attica, where he married the daughter of Evechtheus, king of the Athenians, by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder, committed by Achæus, obliged him to retire to Peloponneſus, which was then called Egialæa, of which one part was from him called Achaia. His deſcendants ſettled at Lacedæmon.

Ion, having ſignalized himſelf by his victories, was invited by the Athenians to govern their city, and gave the country his name; for the inhabitants of Attica were likewiſe called Ionians. The number of the citizens increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the Athenians were obliged to ſend a colony of the Ionians into Peloponneſus, who likewiſe gave the name to the country they poſſeſſed.

Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, though compoſed of different people, were united under the names of Achæans and Ionians.

The Heraclidæ, fourſcore years after the taking of Troy, reſolved ſeriouſly to recover Peloponneſus, which of right

[y] Strab. l. viii. p. 383, &c. Pauſan. l. vii. p. 396, &c.

belonged to them. They had three principal leaders, ſons of Ariſtomachus, namely, Timenes, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus; the laſt dying, his two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, ſucceeded him. The ſucceſs of their expedition was as happy as the motive was juſt, and they recovered the poſſeſſion of their ancient dominion. Argos fell to Timenes, Meſſenia to Creſphontes, and Laconia to the two ſons of Ariſtodemus.

Such of the Achæans as were deſcended from Æolus, and had hitherto inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who accompanied the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, after ſome wandering, ſettled in that part of Aſia Minor, which from them took the name of Æolis, where they founded Smyrna, and eleven other cities; but the town of Smyrna came afterwards into the hands of the Ionians. The Æolians became likewiſe poſſeſſed of ſeveral cities of Leſbos.

As for the Achæans of Mycene and Argos, being compelled to abandon their country to the Heraclidæ, they ſeized upon that of the Ionians, who dwelt at that time in a part of Peloponneſus. The latter fled at firſt to Athens their original country, from whence they ſome time afterwards departed under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, both ſons of Codrus, and ſeized upon that part of the coaſt of Aſia Minor, which lies between Caria and Lydia, and from them was named Ionia; here they built twelve cities, Epheſus, Clazomenæ, Samos, &c.

[z] The power of the Athenians, who had then Codrus for their king, being very much augmented by the great number of refugees that were fled into their country, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppoſe the progreſs of their power, and for that reaſon made war upon them. The latter were worſted in a battle, but ſtill remain maſters of Megaris, where they built Megara, and ſettled the Dorians in that country in the room of the Ionians.

[a] One part of the Dorians continued in the country after the death of Codrus, another went to Crete; the greateſt number ſettled in that part of Aſia Minor, which from them was called Doris, where they built Halicarnaſſus,

[z] Strab. p. 393. [a] Idem p. 653

Cnidus, and other cities, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Rhodes, Cos, &c.

The Grecian Dialects.

It will now be more eaſy to underſtand what we have to ſay concerning the ſeveral Grecian dialects. Theſe were four in number; the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and the Æolic. They were in reality four different languages, each of them perfect in its kind, and uſed by a diſtinct nation; but yet all derived from, and grounded upon the ſame original tongue. And this diverſity of languages can no ways appear wonderful in a country, where the inhabitants conſiſted of different nations, that did not depend upon one another, but had each its particular territories.

1. The Attic dialect is that which was uſed in Athens and the country round about. This dialect has been chiefly uſed by Thucydides, Ariſtophanes, Plato, Iſocrates, Xenophon, and Demoſthenes.

2. The Ionic dialect was almoſt the ſame with the ancient Attic; but after it had paſſed into ſeveral towns of Aſia Minor, and into the adjacent iſlands, which were colonies of the Athenians, and of the people of Achaia, it received a ſort of new tincture, and did not come up to that perfect delicacy, which the Athenians afterwards attained to. Hippocrates and Herodotus writ in this dialect.

3. The Doric was firſt in uſe among the Spartans and the people of Argos; it paſſed afterwards into Epirus, Lybia, Sicily, Rhodes, and Crete. Archimedes and Theocritus, both of them Syracuſans, and Pindar followed this dialect.

4. The Æolic dialect was at firſt uſed by the Bœotians and their neighbours, and then in Æolis, a country in Aſia Minor, between Ionia and Myſia, which contained ten or twelve cities, that were Grecian colonies. Sappho and Alcæus, of whoſe works very little remains wrote in this dialect. We find alſo a mixture of it in the writings of Theocritus, Pindar, Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE VI.

The republican Form of Government almoſt generally eſtabliſhed throughout Greece.

THE reader may have obſerved in the little I have ſaid about the ſeveral ſettlements of Greece, that the primordial ground of all thoſe different ſtates was monarchical government, which was the moſt ancient of all forms, the moſt univerſally received and eſtabliſhed, the moſt proper to maintain peace and concord; and which as [b] Plato obſerves, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exerciſe over their families.

But, as the ſtate of things degenerated by degrees, through the injuſtice of uſurpers, and ſeverity of lawful maſters, the inſurrections of the people, and a thouſand accidents and revolutions, that happened in thoſe ſtates; a different ſpirit ſeized the people which prevailed over all Greece, kindled a violent deſire of liberty, and brought about a general change of government every where, except in Macedonia; ſo that monarchy gave way to a republican government, which however was diverſified into almoſt as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

However, there ſtill remained a kind of tincture or leaven of the ancient monarchical government, which frequently inflamed the ambition of private citizens, and made them deſire to become maſters of their country. In almoſt every ſtate of Greece, ſome private perſons aroſe, who without any right to the throne, either by birth, or election of the citizens, endeavoured to advance themſelves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence; and who, without any reſpect for the laws, or regard to the public good, exerciſed a ſovereign authority, with a deſpotic empire and arbitrary ſway. In order to ſupport their unjuſt uſurpations in the midſt of diſtruſts and alarms, they thought themſelves obliged to prevent imaginary, or to ſuppreſs real conſpiracies, by the moſt

[b] Plat. l. iii. de Leg. p. 680.

cruel proſcriptions; and to ſacrifice to their own ſecurity all thoſe whom merit, rank, wealth, zeal for liberty, or love of their country, rendered obnoxious to a ſuſpicious and unſettled government, which found itſelf hated by all, and was ſenſible it deſerved to be ſo. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment, that rendered theſe men ſo odious, and brought upon them the appellation of * tyrants, and which furniſhed ſuch ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical repreſentations of the theatre.

All theſe cities and diſtricts of Greece that ſeemed ſo entirely different from one another, in their laws, cuſtoms, and intereſts, were nevertheleſs formed and combined into one ſole, entire, and united body; whoſe ſtrength increaſed to ſuch a degree as to make the formidable power of the Perſians under Darius and Xerxes tremble; and which even then, perhaps, would have entirely overthrown the Perſian greatneſs, had the Grecian ſtates been wiſe enough to have preſerved that union and concord among themſelves, which afterwards rendered them invincible. This is the ſcene which I am now to open, and which certainly merits the reader's whole attention.

We ſhall ſee, in the following volumes, a ſmall nation, confined within a country not equal to the fourth part of France, diſputing empire with the moſt powerful throne then upon the earth; and we ſhall ſee this handful of men, not only making head againſt the innumerable army of the Perſians, but diſperſing, routing, and cutting them to pieces, and ſometimes reducing the Perſian pride ſo low, as to make them ſubmit to conditions of peace, as ſhameful to the conquered as glorious for the conquerors.

Among all the cities of Greece, there were two that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and acquired an authority and a kind of ſuperiority over the reſt by the mere dint of their merit and conduct; theſe two were Lacedæmon and Athens. As theſe cities make a conſiderable figure, and act an illuſtrious part in the enſuing hiſtory, before I enter upon particulars, I think I ought firſt to give the reader ſome idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their

* This word originally ſignified no more than king, and was anciently the title of lawful princes.

reſpective inhabitants. Plutarch, in the lives of Lycurgus and Solon, will furniſh me with the greateſt part of what I have to ſay upon this head.

ARTICLE VII.

The Spartan Government. Laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus.

THERE is perhaps nothing in profane hiſtory better atteſted, and at the ſame time more incredible, than what relates to the government of Sparta and their diſcipline eſtabliſhed in it by Lycurgus. [c] This legiſlator was the ſon of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. It would have been eaſy for Lycurgus to have aſcended the throne after the death of his eldeſt brother, who left no ſon behind him; and in effect he was king for ſome days. But as ſoon as his ſiſter-in-law was found to be with child, he declared, that the crown belonged to her ſon, if ſhe had one; and from thenceforth he governed the kingdom only as his guardian. In the mean time, the widow ſent to him underhand, that if he would promiſe to marry her when he was a king, ſhe would deſtroy the fruit of her womb. So deteſtable a propoſal ſtruck Lycurgus with horror; however, he concealed his indignation, and amuſing the woman with different pretences, ſo managed it, that ſhe went out her full time, and was delivered. As ſoon as the child was born, he proclaimed him king, and took care to have him brought up and educated in a proper manner. This prince, on account of the joy which the people teſtified at his birth, was named Charilaus.

[d] The ſtate was at this time in great diſorder; the authority both of the kings and the laws, being abſolutely deſpiſed and unregarded. No curb was ſtrong enough to reſtrain the audaciouſneſs of the people, which every day increaſed more and more.

Lycurgus was ſo courageous as to form the deſign of making a thorough reformation in the Spartan government; and to be the more capable of making wiſe regulations, he thought fit to travel into ſeveral countries, in order to

[c] Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 40. [d] Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 41.

acquaint himſelf with the different manners of other nations, and to conſult the moſt able and experienced perſons he could meet with in the art of government. He began with the iſland of Crete, whoſe hard and auſtere laws were very famous: from thence he paſſed into Aſia, where quite different cuſtoms prevailed; and, laſt of all, he went into Egypt, which was then the ſeat of ſcience, wiſdom, and good counſels.

[e] His long abſence only made his country the more deſirous of his return; and the kings themſelves importuned him to that effect, being ſenſible how much they ſtood in need of his authority to keep the people within bounds, and in ſome degree of ſubjection and order. When he came back to Sparta, he undertook to change the whole form of their government, being perſuaded that a few particular laws would produce no great effect.

But before he put this deſign in execution, he went to Delphos to conſult the oracle of Apollo; where, after having offered his ſacrifice, he received that famous anſwer, in which the prieſteſs called him "A friend of the gods, and rather a god than a man." And as for the favour he deſired of being able to frame a ſet of good laws for his country, ſhe told him, the god had heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to eſtabliſh would be the moſt excellent ſtate in the world.

On his return to Sparta the firſt thing he did, was to bring over to his deſigns the leading men of the city, whom he made acquainted with his views; when he was aſſured of their approbation and concurrence, he went into the public market-place, accompanied with a number of armed men, in order to aſtoniſh and intimidate thoſe who might deſire to oppoſe his undertaking.

The new form of government, which he introduced into Sparta, may properly be reduced to three principal inſtitutions.

1. *Inſtitution. The Senate.*

[f] Of all the new regulations or inſtitutions made by Lycurgus, the greateſt and moſt conſiderable was that of the

[e] Ibid. p. 42. [f] Plut. in vit. Lycur. p. 42.

ſenate; which, by tempering and balancing, as Plato obſerves, the too abſolute power of the kings by an authority of equal weight and influence with theirs, became the principal ſupport and preſervation of that ſtate. For whereas before it was ever unſteady, and tending one while towards tyranny, by the violent proceeding of the kings; at other times towards democracy, by the exceſſive power of the people; the ſenate ſerved as a kind of counterpoiſe to both, which kept the ſtate in a due equilibrium, and preſerved it in a firm and ſteady ſituation; the twenty-eight ſenators*, of which it conſiſted, ſiding with the king, when the people were graſping at too much power, and on the other hand eſpouſing the intereſts of the people whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far.

Lycurgus having thus tempered the government, thoſe who came after him thought the power of the thirty, that compoſed the ſenate, ſtill too ſtrong and abſolute; and therefore, as a check upon them, they deviſed the authority of the † Ephori, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. The Ephori were five in number, and remained but one year in office. They were all choſen out of the people; and in that reſpect conſiderably reſembled the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority extended to the arreſting and impriſoning the perſons of their kings, as it happened in the caſe of Pauſanias. The inſtitution of the Ephori began in the reign of Theopompus; whoſe wife reproaching him, that he would leave his children the regal authority in a worſe condition than he had received it; on the contrary ſaid he, I ſhall leave it them in a much better condition, as it will be more permanent and laſting.

The Spartan government then was not purely monarchical. The nobility had a great ſhare in it, and the people were not excluded. Each part of this body politic, in proportion as it contributed to the public good, found in it their advantage; ſo that in ſpite of the natural reſtleſſneſs and inconſtancy of man's heart, which is always thirſting after novelty and change, and is never cured of its diſguſt to uniformity, Lacedæmon perſevered for above ſeven hundred years in the exact obſervance of her laws.

* This council conſiſted of thirty perſons, including the two kings.

† The word ſignifies *comptroller* or *inſpector*.

2. *Inſtitution. The Diviſion of the Lands, and the Prohibition of Gold and Silver Money.*

[s] The ſecond and the boldeſt inſtitution of Lycurgus, was the diviſion of the lands, which he looked upon as abſolutely neceſſary for eſtabliſhing peace and good order in the commonwealth. The major part of the people were ſo poor, that they had not one inch of land of their own, whilſt a ſmall number of particular perſons were poſſeſſed of all the lands and wealth of the country; in order therefore to baniſh inſolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two other diſtempers of the ſtate, ſtill greater and more ancient than thoſe, I mean extreme poverty, and exceſſive wealth, he perſuaded the citizens to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new diviſion of them, that they might all live together in a perfect equality, and that no pre-eminences or honours ſhould be given but to virtue and merit alone.

This ſcheme, as extraordinary as it was, was immediately executed. Lycurgus divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thouſand parts, which he deſtributed among the inhabitants of the country; and the territories of Sparta into nine thouſand parts, which he diſtributed among an equal number of citizens. It is ſaid, that ſome years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, and paſſing through the lands of Laconia, in the time of harveſt, and obſerving, as he went along, the perfect equality of the reaped corn, he turned towards thoſe that were with him, and ſaid ſmiling, "Does not Laconia look like the poſſeſſion of ſeveral brothers, who have juſt been dividing their inheritance amongſt them?"

After having divided their immoveables, he undertook likewiſe to make the ſame equal diviſion of all their moveable goods and chattels, that he might utterly baniſh from among them all manner of inequality. But perceiving that this would go more againſt the grain, if he went openly about it, he endeavoured to effect it, by ſapping the very foundations of avarice. For firſt he cried down all gold and ſilver money, and ordained, that no other ſhould be current than that of iron; which he made ſo very heavy, and fixed at ſo

[s] Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 44.

low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were neceſſary to carry home a ſum of ten* minas, and a whole chamber to keep it in.

The next thing he did, was to baniſh all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous arts from Sparta. But if he had not done this, moſt of them would have ſunk of themſelves, and diſappeared with the gold and ſilver money; becauſe the tradeſmen and artificers would have found no vent for their commodities; and this iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian ſtates, who were ſo far from eſteeming it, that it became the ſubject of their banter and ridicule.

3 *Inſtitution. Of public Meals.*

Lycurgus, being deſirous to make a yet more effectual war upon ſoftneſs and luxury, and utterly to extirpate the love of riches, made a third regulation, which was that of public meals. [c] That he might entirely ſuppreſs all the magnificence and extravagance of expenſive tables, he ordained, that all the citizens ſhould eat together of the ſame common victuals, which the law preſcribed, and expreſsly forbad all private eating at their own houſes.

By this ſettlement of public and common meals, and this frugality and ſimplicity in eating, it may be ſaid, that he made riches in ſome meaſure change their very nature, by putting them out of a † condition of being deſired or ſtolen, or of enriching their poſſeſſors: for there was no way left for a man to uſe or enjoy this opulence, or even to make any ſhow of it; ſince the poor and the rich eat together in the ſame place, and none were allowed to appear at the public eating-rooms, after having taken care to fill themſelves with other diet; becauſe every body preſent took particular notice of any one that did not eat or drink, and the whole company was ſure to reproach him with the delicacy and intemperance that made him deſpiſe the common food and public table.

* Plut. in vit. Lyc. p. 54.

* Five hundred livres French, about 20l. Engliſh.

† Τον πλουτον ασυλον μαλλον, ἢ αζηλον, ἢ απλουτον απειργασατο. PLUT.

The rich were extremely enraged at this regulation; and it was upon this occaſion, that in a tumult of the people a young fellow, named Alexander, ſtruck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. The people, provoked at ſuch an outrage, delivered the young man into Lycurgus's hands, who knew how to revenge himſelf in a proper manner: for by the extraordinary kindneſs and gentleneſs with which he treated him, he made the violent and hot-headed young man in a little time become very moderate and wiſe. The tables conſiſted of about fifteen perſons each; where none could be admitted but with the conſent of the whole company. Each perſon furniſhed every month a buſhel of flour, eight meaſures of wine, five pounds of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, and a ſmall ſum of money for preparing and cooking the victuals. Every one, without exception of perſons, was obliged to be at the common meal: and a long time after the making of theſe regulations, king Agis, at his return from a glorious expedition, having taken the liberty to diſpenſe with that law, in order to eat with the queen his wife, was reprimanded and puniſhed.

The very children eat at theſe public tables, and were carried thither as to a ſchool of wiſdom and temperance. There they were ſure to hear grave diſcourſes upon government, and to ſee nothing but what tended to their inſtruction and improvement. The converſation was often enlivened with ingenious and ſprightly raillery, but never intermixed with any thing vulgar or ſhocking; and if their jeſting ſeemed to make any perſon uneaſy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their children were likewiſe trained up and accuſtomed to great ſecrecy: as ſoon as a young man came into the dining-room, the oldeſt perſon of the company uſed to ſay to him, pointing to the door, "Nothing ſpoken here, muſt ever go out there."

[d] The moſt exquiſite of all their eatables was what they called their *black broth*; and the old men preferred it before all that was ſet upon the table. Dionyſius the tyrant, when he was at one of theſe meals, was not of the ſame opinion; and what was a ragoo to them was to him very inſipid. I do not wonder at it, ſaid the cook, for the ſeaſoning is

[d] Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. v. n. 98.

wanting. What ſeaſoning? replied the tyrant. Running, ſweating, fatigue, hunger, and thirſt; theſe are the ingredients, ſays the cook, with which we ſeaſon all our food.

4. *Other Ordinances.*

[e] When I ſpeak of the ordinances of Lycurgus, I do not mean written laws: he thought proper to leave very few of that kind, being perſuaded that the moſt powerful and effectual means of rendering communities happy, and people virtuous, is by the good example, and the impreſſion made on the mind by the manners and practice of the citizens: for the principles thus implanted by education remain firm and immoveable, as they are rooted in the will, which is always a ſtronger and more durable tie than the yoke of neceſſity; and the youth that have been thus nurtured and educated, become laws and legiſlators to themſelves. Theſe are the reaſons why Lycurgus, inſtead of leaving his ordinances in writing, endeavoured to imprint and enforce them by practice and example.

He looked upon the education of youth as the greateſt and moſt important object of a legiſlator's care. His grand principle was, that children belonged more to the ſtate than to their parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their humours and fancies, but would have the ſtate intruſted with the general care of their education, in order to have them formed upon conſtant and uniform principles, which might inſpire them betimes with the love of their country and of virtue.

[f] As ſoon as a boy was born, the elders of each tribe viſited him; and if they found him well-made, ſtrong, and vigorous, they ordered him to be brought up, and aſſigned him one of the * nine thouſand portions of land for his inheritance; if, on the contrary, they found him to be deformed, tender,

[e] Plut. vit. Lycurg. p. 47. [f] Ibid. p. 48.

* I do not comprehend how they could aſſign to every one of theſe children one of the nine thouſand portions, appropriated to the city, for his inheritance. Was the number of citizens always the ſame? Did it never exceed nine thouſand? It is not ſaid in this caſe, as in the diviſion of the holy land, that the portions allotted to a family always continued in it, and could not be entirely alienated.

and weakly, ſo that they could not expect that he would ever have a ſtrong and healthful conſtitution, they condemned him to periſh, and cauſed the infant to be expoſed.

Children were accuſtomed betimes not to be nice or difficult in their eating; not to be afraid in the dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themſelves up to peeviſhneſs and ill-humour, to crying and bawling; [g] to walk bare-foot, that they might be inured to fatigue; to lie hard at nights; to wear the ſame clothes winter and ſummer, in order to harden them againſt cold and heat.

[h] At the age of ſeven years they were put into the claſſes, where they were brought up all together under the ſame diſcipline. * Their education, properly ſpeaking, was only an apprenticeſhip of obedience. The legiſlator having rightly conſidered, that the ſureſt way to have citizens ſubmiſſive to the law and to the magiſtrates (in which the good order and happineſs of a ſtate chiefly conſiſts) was to teach children early, and to accuſtom them from their tender years to be perfectly obedient to their maſters and ſuperiors.

[i] While they were at table, it was uſual for the maſters to inſtruct the boys by propoſing them queſtions. They would aſk them, for example, who is the honeſteſt man in the town? What do you think of ſuch or ſuch an action? The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready anſwer, which was alſo to be accompanied with a reaſon and a proof, both couched in few words: for they were accuſtomed betimes to the Laconic ſtyle, that is, to a cloſe and conciſe way of ſpeaking and writing. Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value, and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and ſhort; a great deal of ſenſe compriſed in few words.

[k] As for literature, they only learned as much as was neceſſary. All the ſciences were baniſhed out of their country: their ſtudy only tended to know how to obey, to bear hardſhip and fatigue, and to conquer in battle. The ſuperintendant of their education was one of the moſt honourable men of the city, and of the firſt rank and condition, who

[g] Xen. de Lac. rep. p. 677. [h] Plut. in. Lyc. p. 50.
[i] Plut. in. Lyc. p. 51. [k] Plut. in Lyc. p. 52.

* Ὅλη ἡ παιδεία ἦν μάλιστα εὐπείθεια.

appointed over every claſs of boys maſters of the moſt approved wiſdom and probity.

[l] There was one kind of theft only (and that too more a nominal than a real one) which the boys were allowed, and even ordered to practiſe. They were taught to ſlip, as cunningly and cleverly as they could into the gardens and public halls, in order to ſteal away herbs or meat; and if they were caught in the fact they were puniſhed for their want of dexterity. We are told, that one of them, having ſtolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and ſuffered the animal to gnaw into his belly, and tear out his very bowels, till he fell dead upon the ſpot, rather than be diſcovered. This kind of theft, as I have ſaid, was but nominal, and not properly a robbery; ſince it was authoriſed by the law and the conſent of the citizens. The intent of the legiſlator in allowing it, was to inſpire the Spartan youth, who were all deſigned for war, with the greater boldneſs, ſubtilty, and addreſs; to inure them betimes to the life of a ſoldier; to teach them to live upon a little, and to be able to ſhift for themſelves. But I have already given an account of this matter more at large in another treatiſe.

[m] The patience and conſtancy of the Spartan youth moſt conſpicuouſly appeared in a certain feſtival celebrated in honour of Diana, ſurnamed Orthia, where the children before the eyes of their parents, and in preſence of the whole city, [n] ſuffered themſelves to be whipped, till the blood ran down upon the altar of this cruel goddeſs, where ſometimes they expired under the ſtrokes, and all this without uttering the leaſt cry, or ſo much as a groan, or a ſigh: and even their own fathers, when they ſaw them covered with blood and wounds and ready to expire, exhorted them to perſevere to the end with conſtancy and reſolution. Plutarch aſſures us, that he had ſeen with his own eyes a great many children loſe their lives on theſe cruel occaſions. Hence it is, that [o] Horace gives the epithet of patient to the city of Lacedæmon, *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and another author makes a man,

[l] Plut. Vit. p. 50. Idem. inſtitut. Lacon. p. 237.
[m] Man. d'Etud. Tome III. p. 471, [n] Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. ii. n. 34.
[o] Ode. vii. lib. 1.

who had received three ſtrokes of a ſtick without complaining, ſay, *Tres plagas Spartana nobilitati concoxi.*

[p] The moſt uſual occupation of the Lacedæmonians was hunting, and other bodily exerciſes. They were forbid to exerciſe any mechanic art. The Elotæ, who were a ſort of ſlaves, tilled their land for them, for which they paid them a certain revenue.

[q] Lycurgus would have his citizens enjoy a great deal of leiſure: they had large common-halls, where the people uſed to meet to converſe together: and though their diſcourſes chiefly turned upon grave and ſerious topics, yet they ſeaſoned them with a mixture of wit and facetious humour, both agreeable and inſtructive. They paſſed little of their time alone, being accuſtomed to live like bees, always together, always about their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and of the public good was their predominant paſſion: they did not imagine they belonged to themſelves, but to their country. Pedaretus having miſſed the honour of being choſen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank of diſtinction in the city, went home extremely pleaſed and ſatisfied ſaying, "He was overjoyed there were three hundred men in Sparta more honourable and worthy than himſelf."

[r] At Sparta every thing tended to inſpire the love of virtue, and the hatred of vice; the actions of the citizens, their converſations, public monuments, and inſcriptions. It was hard for men brought up in the midſt of ſo many living precepts and examples, not to become virtuous, as far as heathens were capable of virtue. It was to preſerve theſe happy diſpoſitions that Lycurgus did not allow all ſorts of perſons to travel, leſt they ſhould bring home foreign manners, and return infected with the licentious cuſtoms of other countries, which would neceſſarily create in a little time an averſion for the life and maxims of Lacedæmon. On the other hand, he would ſuffer no ſtrangers to remain in the city, who did not come thither to ſome uſeful or profitable end, or out of mere curioſity; being afraid they ſhould bring along with them the defects and vices of their own countries; and being perſuaded, at the ſame time, that it was

[p] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 54. [q] Ibid. p. 55. [r] Ibid. p. 56.

more important and neceſſary to ſhut the gates of the town againſt depraved and corrupt manners, than againſt infectious diſtempers. Properly ſpeaking, the very trade and buſineſs of the Lacedæmonians was war: every thing with them tended that way: arms were their only exerciſe and employment: their life much leſs hard and auſtere in the camp, than in the city; and they were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of eaſe and refreſhment; becauſe then the reins of that ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline, which prevailed at Sparta, were ſomewhat relaxed, and the men were indulged in a little more liberty. [s] With them the firſt and moſt inviolable law of war, as Demaratus told Xerxes, was never to fly, or turn their backs, whatever ſuperiority of numbers the enemy's army might conſiſt of; never to quit their poſt: never to deliver up their arms; in a word, either to conquer, or die on the ſpot. [t] This maxim was ſo important and eſſential in their opinion, that when the poet Archilochus came to Sparta, they obliged him to leave their city immediately; becauſe they underſtood, that in one of his poems he had ſaid, *It was better for a man to throw down his arms than to expoſe himſelf to be killed.*

* Hence it is, that a mother recommended to her ſon, who was going to make a campaign, that he ſhould return either with or upon his ſhield: and that another, hearing that her ſon was killed in fighting for his country, anſwered very coldly, "[u] I brought him into the world for no other end." This humour was general among the Lacedæmonians. After the famous battle of Leuctra, which was ſo fatal to the Spartans, the parents of thoſe, that died in the action, congratulated one another upon it, and went to the temples to thank the gods that their children had done their duty; whereas the relations of thoſe who ſurvived the defeat were inconſolable. If any of the Spartans fled in battle, they were diſhonoured and diſgraced for ever. They were not only

[s] Herod. l. vii. cap. 104. [t] Plut. in Lacon. inſtitut. p. 239.
[u] Cic. lib. i. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 102. Plut. in vit. Ageſ. p. 612.

* Αλλη προσαναδιδωσα τω παιδι την ασπιδα, και παραινελευομενη. Τεκνον (ιφη) η ταυτην η επι ταυς. PLUT. in Lacon. apophthegm. p. 241. Sometimes they that were ſlain were brought home upon their ſhields.

excluded from all posts and employments in the state, from all assemblies and public diversions; but it was reckoned scandalous to make any alliances with them by marriage: and a thousand affronts and insults were publicly offered them with impunity.

The Spartans never went to fight without first imploring the help of the gods by public sacrifices and prayers; and, when that was done, they marched against the enemy with a perfect confidence and expectation of success, as being assured of the divine protection; and, to make use of Plutarch's expressions, "As if God were present with, and fought for them."

[x] When they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory: after which they retired, as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece to cut in pieces, and destroy an enemy that yielded and fled. And this proved as useful as honourable to the Spartans: for their enemies knowing that all who resisted them were put to the sword, and that they spared none but those that fled, generally chose rather to fly than to resist.

[y] When the first institutions of Lycurgus were received and confirmed by practice; and the form of government he had established, seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself; as * Plato says of God, that after he had finished the creation of the world, he rejoiced when he saw it revolve and perform its first motions with so much justness and harmony; so the Spartan legislator, pleased with the greatness and beauty of his laws, felt his joy and satisfaction redouble, when he saw them, as it were, walk alone, and go forward so happily.

But desiring, as far as depended on human prudence, to render them immortal and unchangeable, he signified to the people, that there was still one point remaining to be performed, the most essential and important of all, about which he would go and consult the oracle of Apollo; and in the

[x] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. p. 454. [y] Ibid. p. 57.

* This passage of Plato is in his Timæus, and gives us reason to believe this philosopher had read what Moses says of God, when he created the world: *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona.* Gen. i. 31.

mean time he made them all take an oath, that till his return they would inviolably maintain the form of government which he had eſtabliſhed. When he was arrived at Delphos, he conſulted the god, to know whether the laws he had made were good and ſufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy and virtuous. The prieſteſs anſwered, that nothing was wanting to his laws; and that, as long as Sparta obſerved them, ſhe would be the moſt glorious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus ſent this anſwer to Sparta: and then, thinking he had fulfilled his miniſtry, he voluntarily died at Delphos, by abſtaining from all manner of ſuſtenance. His notion was, that the death of great perſons and ſtateſmen ſhould not be barren and unprofitable to the ſtate, but a kind of ſupplement to their miniſtry, and one of their moſt important actions, which ought to do them as much or more honour than all the reſt. He therefore thought, that in dying thus he ſhould crown and complete all the ſervices which he had rendered his fellow citizens during his life; ſince his death would engage them to a perpetual obſervation of his inſtitutions, which they had ſworn to obſerve inviolably till his return.

Whilſt that I repreſent Lycurgus's ſentiments upon his own death in the light wherein Plutarch has tranſmitted them to us, I am very far from approving them: and I make the ſame declaration with reſpect to ſeveral other facts of the like nature, which I ſometimes relate without making any reflections upon them, though I think them very unworthy of approbation. The pretended wiſe men of the heathens had, as well concerning this article as ſeveral others, but very faint and imperfect notions; or, to ſpeak more properly, remained in great darkneſs and error. They laid down this admirable principle, which we meet with in many of their writings. * That man, placed in the world as in a certain

* *Vetat Pythagoras, injuſſu imperatoris, id eſt Dei, de præſidio et ſtatione vitæ decedere.* Cic. de Senect. n. 73.

Cato ſic abiit è vitâ, ut cauſam moriendi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injuſſu hinc nos ſuo demigrare. Cùm verò cauſam juſtam Deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, ſæpe multis; næ ille, medius fidius, vir ſapiens, lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam exceſſerit. Nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant: ſed, tanquam à magiſtratu aut ab aliquâ poteſtate legitimâ, ſic à Deo vocatus atque emiſſus, exierit. Id. 1. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 74.

poſt by his general, cannot abandon it without the expreſs command of him upon whom he depends, that is, of God himſelf. At other times, they looked upon man, as a criminal condemned to a melancholy priſon, from whence indeed he might deſire to be releaſed, but could not lawfully attempt to be ſo, but by the courſe of juſtice, and the order of the magiſtrate; and not by breaking his chains, and forcing the gates of his priſon. Theſe notions are beautiful becauſe they are true: but the application they made of them was wrong, namely, as they took that for an expreſs order of the Deity, which was the pure effect of their own weakneſs or pride, by which they were led to put themſelves to death, either that they might deliver themſelves from the pains and troubles of this life, or immortalize their names, as was the caſe with Lycurgus, Cato, and a number of others.

Reflections upon the Government of Sparta, and upon the Laws of Lycurgus.

1. *Things commendable in the Laws of Lycurgus.*

There muſt needs have been (to judge only by the event) a great fund of wiſdom and prudence in the laws of Lycurgus; ſince, as long as they were obſerved in Sparta (which was above five hundred years) it was a moſt flouriſhing and powerful city. It was not ſo much (ſays Plutarch, ſpeaking of the laws of Sparta) the government and polity of a city, as the conduct and regular behaviour of a wiſe man, who paſſes his whole life in the exerciſe of virtue: or rather, continues the ſame author, as the poets feign, that Hercules, only with his lion's ſkin and club, went from country to country to purge the world of robbers and tyrants; ſo Sparta, with a ſlip of * parchment and an old coat,

* This was what the Spartans called a *ſcytale*, a thong of leather or parchment, which they twiſted round a ſtaff in ſuch a manner, that there was no vacancy or void ſpace left upon it. They writ upon this thong, and when they had writ they untwiſted it; and ſent it to the general, for whom it was intended. This general who had another ſtick of the ſame ſize with that on which the thong was twiſted and writ upon, wrapt it round that ſtaff in the ſame

gave laws to all Greece, which willingly ſubmitted to her dominion; ſuppreſſed tyrannies and unjuſt authority in cities; put an end to wars, as ſhe thought fit, and appeaſed inſurrections; and all this generally without moving a ſhield or a ſword, and only by ſending a ſimple ambaſſador amongſt them, who no ſooner appeared, than all the people ſubmitted, and flocked about him like ſo many bees about their monarch: ſo much reſpect did the juſtice and good government of this city imprint upon the minds of all their neighbours.

We find at the end of Lycurgus's life one ſingle reflection made by Plutarch, which of itſelf comprehends a great encomium upon that legiſlator. He there ſays, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all thoſe who have treated of the eſtabliſhment of a political ſtate or government, took their plans from the republic of Lycurgus; with this difference, that they confined themſelves wholly to words and theory; but Lycurgus, without dwelling upon ideas and theoretical ſyſtems, did really and effectually inſtitute an inimitable polity, and form a whole city of philoſophers.

In order to ſucceed in this undertaking, and to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect form of a commonwealth that could be, he melted down as it were, and blended together what he found beſt in every kind of government, and moſt conducive to the public good; thus tempering one ſpecies with another, and balancing the inconveniences to which each of them in particular is ſubject, with the advantages that reſult from their being united together. Sparta had ſomething of the monarchical form of government, in the authority of her kings. The council of thirty, otherwiſe called the ſenate, was a true ariſtocracy; and the power veſted in the people of nominating the ſenators, and of giving ſanction to the laws, reſembled a democratical government. The creation of the Ephori afterwards ſerved to rectify what was amiſs in thoſe previous eſtabliſhments, and to ſupply what was defective. Plato, in more places than one, admires Lycurgus's wiſdom, in his inſtitution of the ſenate, which was

ſame manner, and by that means found out the connexion and the right placing of the letters, which otherwiſe were ſo diſplaced and out of order, that there was no poſſibility of their being read. PLUT. in vit. Lyſ. p. 444.

equally advantageous both to the king and the people; * becauſe by this means the law became the only ſupreme miſtreſs of the kings, and the kings never became tyrants over the law.

The deſign formed by Lycurgus of making an equal diſtribution of the lands among the citizens, and of entirely baniſhing from Sparta all luxury, avarice, law-ſuits and diſſenſions, by aboliſhing the uſe of gold and ſilver, would appear to us a ſcheme of a commonwealth finely conceived for ſpeculation, but utterly incapable of execution, did not hiſtory aſſure us, that Sparta actually ſubſiſted in that condition for many ages.

When I place the tranſaction I am now ſpeaking of among the laudable parts of Lycurgus's laws, I do not pretend it to be abſolutely unexceptionable; for I think it can ſcarce be reconciled with that general law of nature, which forbids the taking away one man's property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this occaſion. Therefore in this affair of dividing the lands, I conſider only ſo much of it as was truly commendable in itſelf, and worthy of admiration.

Can we poſſibly conceive, that a man could perſuade the richeſt and moſt opulent inhabitants of a city to reſign all their revenues and eſtates, in order to level and confound themſelves with the pooreſt of the people; to ſubject themſelves to a new way of living, both ſevere in itſelf, and full of reſtraint; in a word, to debar themſelves of the uſe of every thing, wherein the happineſs and comfort of life is thought to conſiſt? And yet this is what Lycurgus actually effected in Sparta.

Such an inſtitution as this would have been leſs wonderful, had it ſubſiſted only during the life of the legiſlator; but we know that it laſted many ages after his deceaſe. Xenophon, in the encomium he has left us of Ageſilaus, and Cicero, in one of his orations, obſerves, Lacedæmon was the only city in the world that preſerved her diſcipline and laws for ſo conſiderable a term of years unaltered and inviolate.

* Νομος επειδη κυριος εγενετο βασιλευς των ανθρωπων, αλλ' εκ ανθρωποι τυραννοι νομων. PLAT. Epiſt. viii.

[z] *Soli*, ſaid the latter, in ſpeaking of the Lacedæmonians, *toto orbe terrarum ſeptigentos jam annos amplius unis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* I believe though that in Cicero's time the diſcipline of Sparta, as well as her power, was very much relaxed and diminiſhed: but, however, all hiſtorians agree, that it was maintained in all its vigour till the reign of Agis, under whom Lyſander, though incapable himſelf of being blinded or corrupted with gold, filled his country with luxury and the love of riches, by bringing into it immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, which were the fruits of his victories, and thereby ſubverting the laws of Lycurgus.

But the introduction of gold and ſilver money was not the firſt wound given by the Lacedæmonians to the inſtitution of the legiſlator. It was the conſequence of the violation of another law ſtill more fundamental. Ambition was the vice, that preceded, and made way for avarice. The deſire of conqueſts drew on that of riches, without which they could not propoſe to extend their dominions. The main deſign of Lycurgus, in the eſtabliſhing his laws, and eſpecially that which prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, was, as [a] Polybius and Plutarch have judiciouſly obſerved, to curb and reſtrain the ambition of his citizens; to diſable them from making conqueſts, and in a manner to force them to confine themſeves within the narrow bounds of their own country, without carrying their views and pretenſions any farther. Indeed, the government which he eſtabliſhed was ſufficient to defend the frontiers of Sparta, but was not calculated for the raiſing her to a dominion over other cities.

[b] The deſign then of Lycurgus was not to make the Spartans conquerors. To remove ſuch thoughts from his fellow-citizens, he expreſsly forbid them, though they inhabited a country ſurrounded with the ſea, to meddle in maritime affairs; to have any fleets, or even to fight upon the ſea. They were religious obſervers of this prohibition for many ages, and even till the defeat of Xerxes: but upon that occaſion they began to think of making themſelves maſters at ſea, that they might be able to keep that formi-

[z] Pro Flac. num. lxiii.

[a] Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. [b] Plut. in moribus Laced. p. 239.

dable enemy at the greater diſtance. But having ſoon perceived, that theſe maritime remote commands, corrupted the manners of their generals, they laid that project aſide without any difficulty, as we ſhall obſerve, when we come to ſpeak of king Pauſanias.

[c] When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with ſhields and lances, it was not to enable them to commit wrongs and outrages with impunity, but only to defend themſelves againſt the invaſions and injuries of others. He made them indeed a nation of warriors and ſoldiers; but it was only that under the ſhadow of their arms they might live in liberty, moderation, juſtice, union, and peace, by being content with their own territories, without uſurping thoſe of others, and by being perſuaded, that no city or ſtate, any more than a ſingle perſon, can ever hope for ſolid and laſting happineſs, but from virtue only. [d] Men of a depraved taſte (ſays Plutarch further on the ſame ſubject) who think nothing ſo deſirable as riches, and a large extent of dominion, may give preference to thoſe vaſt empires, that have ſubdued and enſlaved the world by violence: but Lycurgus was convinced, that a city had occaſion for nothing of that kind in order to be happy. His policy, which has juſtly been the admiration of all ages, had no further views, than to eſtabliſh equity, moderation, liberty, and peace; and was an enemy to all injuſtice, violence, and ambition, and the paſſion of reigning and extending the bounds of the Spartan commonwealth.

Such reflections as theſe, which Plutarch agreeably interſperſes in his lives, and in which their greateſt and moſt eſſential beauty conſiſts, are of infinite uſe towards the giving us true notions of things, and making us underſtand, wherein conſiſts the ſolid and true glory of a ſtate that is really happy; as alſo to correct thoſe falſe ideas we are apt to form of the vain greatneſs of thoſe empires which have ſwallowed up kingdoms, and of thoſe celebrated conquerors, who owe all their fame and grandeur to violence and uſurpation.

The long duration of the laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus is certainly very wonderful: but the means he made uſe of

[c] Plut. in vit. Lycur. p. 59. [d] Ibidem & in vit. Ageſil. p. 614.

to ſucceed therein are no leſs worthy of admiration. The principal of theſe was the extraordinary care he took to have the Spartan youth brought up in an exact and ſevere diſcipline: for (as Plutarch obſerves) the religious obligation of an oath, which he exacted from the citizens, would have been a feeble tie, had he not by education infuſed his laws, as it were into the minds and manners of the children, and made them ſuck in almoſt with their mother's milk an affection for his inſtitutions. This was the reaſon why his principal ordinances ſubſiſted above five hundred years, having ſunk into the very temper and hearts of the people, like a * ſtrong and good dye that penetrates thoroughly. Cicero makes the ſame remark, and aſcribes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not ſo much to their own natural diſpoſition, as to their excellent education: [e] *Cujus civitatis ſpectata ac nobilitata virtus, non ſolum natura corroborata, verum etiam diſciplina putatur.* All this ſhows of what importance it is to a ſtate to take care that their youth be brought up in a manner proper to inſpire them with a love for the laws of their country.

[f] The great maxim of Lycurgus, which Ariſtotle repeats in expreſs terms, was, that as children belong to the ſtate, their education ought to be directed by the ſtate, and the views and intereſts of the ſtate only conſidered therein. It was for this reaſon he deſired they ſhould be educated all in common, and not left to the humour and caprice of their parents, who generally, through a ſoft and blind indulgence and a miſtaken tenderneſs, enervate at once both the bodies and minds of their children. At Sparta, from their tendereſt years, they were inured to labour and fatigue by the exerciſes of hunting and racing, and accuſtomed betimes to endure hunger and thirſt, heat and cold; and, what it is difficult to make mothers believe, all theſe hard and laborious exerciſes tended to procure them health, and make their conſtitutions the more vigorous and robuſt, able to bear the hardſhips and fatigues of war; the thing for which they were all deſigned from their cradles.

[e] Orat. pro Flac. n. 63.

[f] Polyb. l. viii. Politic.

* Ωσπερ βαφης αχραντα ἡ ισχυρας καταψαμενης. PLAT. Ep. iii.

But the moſt excellent thing in the Spartan education, was in teaching young people ſo perfectly well how to obey. It is from hence the poet Simonides gives that city ſuch a * magnificent epithet, which denotes, that they alone knew how to ſubdue the paſſions of men, and to render them pliant and ſubmiſſive to laws, in the ſame manner as horſes are taught to obey the ſpur and the bridle, by being broken and managed, while they are young. For this reaſon, Ageſilaus adviſed Xenophon to ſend his children to Sparta, † that they might learn there the nobleſt and greateſt of all ſciences, that is, how to command, and how to obey.

One of the leſſons oftener and moſt ſtrongly inculcated upon the Lacedæmonian youth, was, to bear a great reverence and reſpect to old men, and to give them proofs of it upon all occaſions, by ſaluting them, by making way for them, and giving them place in the ſtreets, [g] by riſing up to ſhow them honour in all companies and public aſſemblies; but above all, by receiving their advice, and even their reproofs, with docility and ſubmiſſion: by theſe characteriſtics a Lacedæmonian was known wherever he came; if he had behaved otherwiſe it would have been looked upon as a reproach to himſelf, and a diſhonour to his country. An old man of Athens going into a theatre once to ſee a play, none of his own countrymen offered him a ſeat; but when he came near the place where the Spartan ambaſſadors, and the gentlemen of their retinue were ſitting, they all roſe up out of reverence to his age, and ſeated him in the midſt of them. ‡ Lyſander therefore had reaſon to ſay, that old age had no where ſo honourable an abode as in Sparta; and that it was an agreeable thing to grow old in that city.

2. *Things blameable in the Laws of Lycurgus.*

In order to perceive the defects in the laws of Lycurgus, we ſhould only compare them with thoſe of Moſes, which

[g] Plut. in Lacon. Inſtitut. p. 237.

* Δαμασιμβροτον, that is to ſay, *Tamer of men.*

† Μαθησιμενον των μαθηματων το καλλιστον, αρχεσθαι τε αρχειν.

‡ *Lyſandrum Lacedæmonium dicere aiunt ſolitum: Lacedæmone eſſe honeſtiſſimum domicilium ſenectutis.* Cic. de Sen. n. 63. Εν Λακεδαιμονι καλλιστα γηρασι. Plut. in mor. p. 795.

we know were dictated by more than human wiſdom. But my deſign in this place is not to enter into an exact examination of the particulars, wherein the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus are faulty: I ſhall content myſelf with making ſome ſlight reflections only, which probably may have already occurred to the reader in the peruſal of thoſe ordinances, among which there are ſome that he will be juſtly offended with on the firſt reading.

To begin, for inſtance, with that ordinance relating to the choice they made of their children, as which of them were to be brought up, and which expoſed to periſh; who would not be ſhocked at the unjuſt and inhuman cuſtom of pronouncing ſentence of death upon all ſuch infants as had the misfortune to be born with a conſtitution that appeared too weak to undergo the fatigues and exerciſes to which the commonwealth deſtined all her ſubjects? Is it then impoſſible, and without example, that children, who are tender and weak in their infancy ſhould ever alter as they grow up, and become in time of a robuſt and vigorous complexion? Or ſuppoſe it were ſo, can a man no way ſerve his country, but by the ſtrength of his body? Is there no account to be made of his wiſdom, prudence, council, generoſity, courage, magnanimity, and in a word, of all the qualities that depend upon the mind and the intellectual faculties? [h] *Omnino illud honeſtum quod ex animo excelſo magnificoque quærimus animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.* Did Lycurgus himſelf render leſs ſervice, or do leſs honour to Sparta, by eſtabliſhing his laws, than the greateſt generals did by their victories? Ageſilaus was of ſo ſmall a ſtature, and ſo mean a figure in his perſon, that at the firſt ſight of him the Egyptians could not help laughing; and yet, as little as he was, he made the great king of Perſia tremble upon the throne of half the world.

But, what is yet ſtronger than all I have ſaid, has any other perſon a right or power over the lives of men, ſave he from whom they received them, even God himſelf? And does not a legiſlator viſibly uſurp the authority of God, whenever he arrogates to himſelf ſuch a power without his commiſſion? That precept of the decalogue, which was

[h] Cicer. l. i. de Offic. n. 79. Ibid. n. 76.

only a renovation of the law of nature, "Thou ſhalt not kill," univerſally condemns all thoſe among the ancients, who imagined they had a power of life and death over their ſlaves, and even over their own children.

The great defect in Lycurgus's laws (as Plato and Ariſtotle have obſerved) is, that they only tended to form a warlike and martial people. All that legiſlator's thoughts ſeemed wholly bent upon the means of ſtrengthening the bodies of the people, without any concern for the cultivation of their minds. Why ſhould he baniſh from his commonwealth all arts and ſciences, which, beſides many other * advantages, have this moſt happy effect, that they ſoften our manners, poliſh our underſtandings, improve the heart, and render our behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; ſuch, in a word, as qualifies us for company and ſociety, and makes the ordinary commerce of life agreeable? Hence it came to paſs, that there was ſomething of a roughneſs and auſterity in the temper and behaviour of the Spartans, and many times, was ſomething of ferocity, a failing, that proceeded, chiefly from their education, and that rendered them diſagreeable and offenſive to all their allies.

It was an excellent practice in Sparta, to accuſtom their youth betimes to ſuffer heat and cold, hunger and thirſt, and by ſeveral ſevere and laborious † exerciſes to bring the body into ſubjection to reaſon, whoſe faithful and diligent miniſter it ought to be in the execution of all orders and injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all ſorts of hardſhips and fatigues. But was it rational in them to carry their ſeverities ſo far, as the inhuman treatment we have mentioned? And was it not utterly barbarous and brutal in the fathers and mothers to ſee the blood trickling from the wounds of their children, nay, and even to ſee them expiring under the laſhes without concern?

Some people admire the courage of the Spartan mothers, who could hear the news of the death of their children ſlain in battle, not only without tears, but even with a kind of

* *Omnes artes quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari ſolet.* Cic. Orat. pro Arch.

† *Exercendum corpus, et ita afficiendum eſt, ut obedire conſilio rationique poſſit in exequendis negotiis et labore tolerando.* Lib. i. de offic. n. 79.

joy and ſatisfaction. For my part I ſhould think it much better, that nature ſhould ſhow herſelf a little more on ſuch occaſions, and that the love of one's country ſhould not utterly extinguiſh the ſentiments of maternal tenderneſs. One of our generals in France, who in the heat of battle was told that his ſon was killed, ſeemed to be much wiſer by his anſwer: "Let us at preſent think," ſaid he, "how to conquer the enemy; to-morrow I will mourn for my ſon."

Nor can I ſee, what excuſe can be made for that law, impoſed by Lycurgus upon the Spartans, which enjoined the ſpending ſo much of their time in idleneſs and inaction, and the following no other buſineſs than that of war. He left all the arts and trades entirely to the ſlaves and ſtrangers that lived amongſt them, and put nothing into the hands of the citizens, but the lance and the ſhield. Not to mention the danger there was in ſuffering the number of ſlaves, that were neceſſary for tilling the land, to increaſe to ſuch a degree, as to become much greater than that of their maſters, which was often an occaſion of ſeditions and riots among them; how many diſorders muſt men neceſſarily fall into, that have ſo much leiſure upon their hands, and have no daily occupation or regular labour? This is an inconvenience ſtill but too common among our nobility, and which is the natural effect of their wrong education. Except in the time of war, moſt of our gentry ſpend their lives in a moſt uſeleſs and unprofitable manner. They look upon agriculture, arts, and commerce, as beneath them, and what would derogate from their gentility. They ſeldom know how to handle any thing but their ſwords. As for the ſciences, they take but a very ſmall tincture of them, juſt ſo much as they cannot well be without; and many of them have not the leaſt knowledge of them in the world, nor any manner of taſte for books or reading. We are not to wonder then if gaming and hunting, eating and drinking, mutual viſits and frivolous diſcourſe, make up their whole occupation. What a life is this for men, that have any parts or underſtanding.

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcuſable, if he gave occaſion, as he is accuſed of having done, for all the rigour and cruelty exerciſed towards the Helots in his republic. Theſe Helots were the ſlaves employed by the Spartans to till the

ground. It was their cuſtom not only to make theſe poor creatures drunk, and expoſe them before their children, in order to give them an abhorrence for ſo ſhameful and odious a vice, but alſo to treat them with the utmoſt barbarity, as thinking themſelves at liberty to deſtroy them by any violence or cruelty whatſoever, under pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain occaſion related by [i] Thucydides, two thouſand of theſe ſlaves diſappeared at once, without any body's knowing what was become of them. Plutarch pretends, this barbarous cuſtom was not practiſed till after Lycurgus's time, and that he had no hand in it.

But that wherein Lycurgus appears to be moſt culpable, and what beſt ſhows the prodigious enormities and groſs darkneſs the pagans were plunged in, is the little regard he ſhowed for modeſty and decency, in what concerned the education of girls, and the marriages of young women; which was without doubt the ſource of thoſe diſorders, that prevailed in Sparta, as Ariſtotle has wiſely obſerved. When we compare theſe indecent and licentious inſtitutions of the wiſeſt legiſlator that ever profane antiquity could boaſt, with the ſanctity and purity of the evangelical precepts; what a noble idea does it give us of the dignity and excellence of the Chriſtian religion.

Nor will it give us a leſs advantageous notion of this preeminence, if we compare the moſt excellent and laudable part of Lycurgus's inſtitutions with the laws of the goſpel. It is, we muſt own, a wonderful thing, that the whole people ſhould conſent to a diviſion of their lands which ſet the poor upon an equal footing with the rich; and that by a total excluſion of gold and ſilver they ſhould reduce themſelves to a kind of voluntary poverty. But the Spartan legiſlator, when he enacted theſe laws, had the ſword in his hand; whereas the Chriſtian legiſlator ſays but a word "Bleſſed are the poor in Spirit," and thouſands of the faithful through all ſucceeding generations renounce their goods, ſell their lands and eſtates, and leave all to follow Jeſus Chriſt, their maſter, in poverty and want.

[i] Lib. iv.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Government of Athens. The Laws of Solon. The Hiſtory of that Republic from the Time of Solon to the Reign of Darius the Firſt.

I HAVE already obſerved, that Athens was at firſt governed by kings. But they were ſuch as had little more than the name; for their whole power, being confined to the command of the armies, vaniſhed in time of peace. Every man was maſter in his own houſe, where he lived in an abſolute ſtate of independence. * Codrus, the laſt king of Athens, having devoted himſelf to die for the public good, his ſons Medon and Nileus quarrelled about the ſucceſſion. The Athenians took this occaſion to aboliſh the regal power, though it did not much incommode them; and declared, that Jupiter alone was king of Athens; at the very ſame time that the Jews were weary of their Theocracy, that is having the true God for their king, and would abſolutely have a man to reign over them.

Plutarch obſerves, that Homer, when he enumerates the ſhips of the confederate Grecians, gives the name of people to none but the Athenians; from whence it may be inferred, that the Athenians even then had a great inclination to a democratical government, and that the chief authority was at that time veſted in the people.

In the place of their kings they ſubſtituted a kind of governors for life, under the title of archons. But this perpetual magiſtracy appeared ſtill in the eyes of this free people, as too lively an image of regal power, of which they were deſirous of aboliſhing even the very ſhadow; for which reaſon they firſt reduced that office to the term of ten years, and then to that of one: and this they did with a view of reſuming the authority the more frequently into their own hands, which they never transferred to their magiſtrates but with regret.

Such a limited power as this was not ſufficient to reſtrain thoſe turbulent ſpirits, who were grown exceſſively

* Codrus was contemporary with Saul.

jealous of their liberty and independency, very tender and apt to be offended at any thing that ſeemed to break in upon their equality, and always ready to take umbrage at whatever had the leaſt appearance of dominion or ſuperiority. From hence aroſe continual factions and quarrels: there was no agreement or concord among them, either about religion or government.

Athens therefore continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power, it being very happy for her that ſhe could preſerve herſelf from ruin in the midſt of thoſe long and frequent diſſenſions ſhe had to ſtruggle with.

Misfortunes inſtruct. Athens learned at length, that true liberty conſiſts in a dependence upon juſtice and reaſon. This happy ſubjection could not be eſtabliſhed, but by a legiſlator. She therefore pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wiſdom and integrity, for that employment. It does not appear, that Greece had, before his time, any written laws. The firſt of that kind then were of his publiſhing; the rigour of which, anticipating as it were, the Stoical doctrine, was ſo great, that it puniſhed the ſmalleſt offence, as well as the moſt enormous crimes, equally with death. Theſe laws of Draco, writ, ſays Demades, not with ink, but with blood, had the ſame fate as uſually attends all violent things. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compaſſion for the accuſed, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate than criminal, and the apprehenſions the accuſers and witneſſes were under of rendering themſelves odious to the people; all theſe motives, I ſay, concurred to produce a remiſſneſs in the execution of the laws; which by that means, in proceſs of time, became as it were abrogated through diſuſe: and thus an exceſſive rigour paved the way for impunity. A. M. 3380. Ant. J. C. 624.

The danger of relapſing into their former diſorders made them have recourſe to freſh precautions; for they were willing to ſlacken the curb and reſtraint of fear, but not to break it. In order, therefore, to find out mitigations, which might make amends for what they took away from the letter of the law, they caſt their eyes upon one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous perſons of his age, I mean Solon, whoſe ſingular qualities, and eſpecially his great meekneſs, had A. M. 3400. Ant. J. C. 604.

acquired him the affection and veneration of the whole city.

His main application had been to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and eſpecially to that part of it which we call policy, and which teaches the art of government. His extraordinary merit gave him one of the firſt ranks among the ſeven ſages of Greece, who rendered the age we are ſpeaking of ſo illuſtrious. [m] Theſe ſages often paid viſits one to another. One day, that Solon went to Miletos to ſee Thales, the firſt thing he ſaid to Thales was, that he wondered why he had never deſired to have either wife or children. Thales made him no anſwer then: but a few days after he contrived that a ſtranger ſhould come into their company, and pretend that he was juſt arrived from Athens, from whence he had ſet out about ten days before. Solon, hearing the ſtranger ſay this, aſked him, if there was no news at Athens when he came away. The ſtranger, who had been taught his leſſon, replied, that he had heard of nothing, but the death of a young gentleman, whom all the town accompanied to the grave; becauſe, as they ſaid, he was the ſon of the worthieſt man in the city, who was then abſent. Alas! cried Solon, interrupting the man's ſtory; how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! But, pray, what is the gentleman's name? I heard his name, replied the ſtranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember, that the people talked much of his wiſdom and juſtice. Every anſwer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to this inquiſitive father, who was ſo juſtly alarmed. Was it not, ſaid he at length, the ſon of Solon? The very ſame, replied the ſtranger. Solon at theſe words rent his clothes, and beat his breaſt, and, expreſſing his ſorrow by tears and groans, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſenſible affliction. Thales, ſeeing this, took him by the hand, and ſaid unto him with a ſmile: comfort yourſelf, my friend; all that has been told you is a mere fiction. Now you ſee the reaſon why I never married: it is becauſe I do not care to expoſe myſelf to ſuch trials and afflictions.

Plutarch has given us a large refutation of Thales's reaſoning, which tends to deprive mankind of the moſt natural

[m] Plut. de vit. Lycurg. p. 81, 82.

and reaſonable attachments in life, in lieu of which the heart of man will not fail to ſubſtitute others of an unjuſt and unlawful nature, which will expoſe him to the ſame pains and inconveniencies. The remedy, ſays this hiſtorian, againſt the grief that may arrive from the loſs of goods, of friends, or of children, is not to throw away our eſtates, and reduce ourſelves to poverty, to make an abſolute renunciation of all friendſhip, or to confine ourſelves to a ſtate of celibacy; but, upon all ſuch accidents and misfortunes, to make a right uſe of our reaſon.

[n] Athens, after ſome time of tranquillity and peace, which the prudence and courage of Solon had procured, who was as great a warrior as he was a ſtateſman, relapſed into her former diſſenſions about the government of the commonwealth, and was divided into as many parties as there were different ſorts of inhabitants in Attica. For thoſe, who lived upon the mountains, were fond of popular government; thoſe in the low lands were for an oligarchy; and thoſe, who dwelt on the ſea-coaſts, were for having a mixed government, compounded of thoſe two forms blended together; and theſe hindered the other two contending parties from getting any ground of each other. Beſides theſe, there was a fourth party, which conſiſted only of the poor, who were grievouſly haraſſed and oppreſſed by the rich, on account of their debts, which they were not able to diſcharge. This unhappy party was determined to chooſe themſelves a chief, who ſhould deliver them from the inhuman ſeverity of their creditors, and make an entire change in the form of their government, by making a new diviſion of the lands.

In this extreme danger all the wiſe Athenians caſt their eyes upon Solon, who was obnoxious to neither party; becauſe he had never ſided either with the injuſtice of the rich, or the rebellion of the poor; and they ſolicited him very much to take the matter in hand, and to endeavour to put an end to theſe differences and diſorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him ſo dangerous a commiſſion: however, he was at laſt choſen archon, and was conſtituted ſupreme arbiter and legiſlator with the unanimous conſent of all parties: the rich liking him, as he was rich; and the

[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 85, 86.

poor, becauſe he was honeſt. He now had it in his power to make himſelf king: ſeveral of the citizens adviſed him to it; and even the wiſeſt among them, not thinking it was in the power of human reaſon to bring about a favourable change conſiſtent with the laws, were not unwilling the ſupreme power ſhould be veſted in one man, who was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his prudence and juſtice. But notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances that were made to him, and all the ſolicitations and reproaches of his friends, who treated his refuſal of the diadem as an effect of puſillanimity and meanneſs of ſpirit, he was ſtill firm and unchangeable in his purpoſe, and would hearken to no other ſcheme than that of ſettling a form of government in his country, that ſhould be founded upon the baſis of a juſt and reaſonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain diſorders and evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other alterations or changes than ſuch as he thought he could perſuade the citizens to comply with, by the method of argument and reaſon; or bring them into by the weight of his authority; wiſely mixing, as he himſelf ſaid, authority and power with reaſon and juſtice. Wherefore, when one afterwards aſked him, if the laws which he had made for the Athenians were the beſt: "Yes," ſaid he, "the beſt they were capable of receiving."

The ſoul of popular eſtates is equality. But, for fear of diſguſting the rich, Solon durſt not propoſe any equality of lands and wealth; whereby Attica, as well as Laconia, would have reſembled a paternal inheritance, divided among a number of brethren. However, he went ſo far as to put an end to the ſlavery and oppreſſion of thoſe poor citizens, whoſe exceſſive debts and accumulated arrears had forced them to ſell their perſons and liberty, and reduce themſelves to a ſtate of ſervitude and bondage. An expreſs law was made, which declared all debtors diſcharged and acquitted of all their debts.

• This affair drew Solon into a troubleſome ſcrape, which gave him a great deal of vexation and concern. When he firſt determined to cancel the debts, he foreſaw that ſuch an edict, which had ſomething in it contrary to juſtice, would

• Plut. in Solon, p. 87.

be extremely offenſive. For which reaſon he endeavoured in ſome meaſure to rectify the tenor of it, by introducing it with a ſpecious preamble, which ſet forth a great many very plauſible pretexts, and gave colours of equity and reaſon to the law, which in reality it had not. But in order hereto, he firſt diſcloſed his deſign to ſome particular friends, whom he uſed to conſult in all his affairs, and concerted with them the form and the terms in which this edict ſhould be expreſſed. Now, before it was publiſhed, his friends, who were more intereſted than faithful, ſecretly borrowed great ſums of money of their rich acquaintance, which they laid out in purchaſing of lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the edict. When this appeared, the general indignation, that was raiſed by ſuch a baſe and flagrant knavery, fell upon Solon, though in effect he had no hand in it. But it is not enough for a man in office to be diſintereſted and upright himſelf; all that ſurround and approach him ought to be ſo too; wife, relations, friends ſecretaries and ſervants. The faults of others are charged to his account: all the wrongs, all the rapines, that are committed either through his negligence or connivance, are juſtly imputed to him; becauſe it is his buſineſs, and one of the principal deſigns of his being put into ſuch a truſt, to prevent thoſe corruptions and abuſes.

This ordinance at firſt pleaſed neither of the two parties; it diſguſted the rich, becauſe it aboliſhed the debts; and diſſatisfied the poor, becauſe it did not ordain a new diviſion of the lands, as they had expected, and as Lycurgus had actually effected at Sparta. But Solon's credit at Athens fell very ſhort of that credit and power which Lycurgus had acquired in Sparta; for he had no other authority over the Athenians, than what the reputation of his wiſdom, and the confidence of the people in his integrity, had procured him.

However, in a little time afterwards this ordinance was generally approved, and the ſame powers, as before, were continued to Solon.

He repealed all the laws that had been made by Draco, except thoſe againſt murder. The reaſon of his doing this was the exceſſive rigour of thoſe laws, which inflicted death alike upon all ſorts of offenders; ſo that they who were

convicted of ſloth and idleneſs, or they that only had ſtolen a few herbs, or a little fruit out of a garden, were as ſeverely puniſhed as thoſe that were guilty of murder or ſacrilege.

He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magiſtracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich; for which reaſon he diſtributed all the rich citizens into three claſſes, ranging them according to the differences of their incomes and revenues, and according to the value and eſtimation of each particular man's eſtate. Thoſe that were found to have five hundred meaſures *per annum*, as well in corn as in liquids, were placed in the firſt rank; thoſe that had three hundred, were placed in the ſecond; and thoſe that had but two hundred made up the third.

[p] All the reſt of the citizens, whoſe income fell ſhort of two hundred meaſures, were compriſed in a fourth and laſt claſs, and were never admitted into any employments. But in order to make them amends for this excluſion from offices, he left them a right to vote in the aſſemblies and judgments of the people; which at firſt ſeemed to be a matter of little conſequence, but in time became extremely advantageous, and made them maſters of all the affairs of the city: for moſt of the law-ſuits and differences returned to the people, to whom an appeal lay from all the judgments of the magiſtrates; and in the aſſemblies of the people the greateſt and moſt important affairs of the ſtate, relating to peace or war, were alſo determined.

The Areopagus, ſo called from the * place where its aſſemblies were held, had been a long time eſtabliſhed. Solon reſtored and augmented its authority, leaving to that tribunal, as the ſupreme court of judicature, a general inſpection and ſuperintendency over all affairs, as alſo the care of cauſing the laws (of which he was the guardian) to be obſerved and put in execution. Before his time the citizens of the greateſt probity and juſtice were made the judges of the Areopagus. Solon was the firſt that thought it convenient that none ſhould be honoured with that dignity, except ſuch

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

* This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, called Areopagus, that is to ſay, *The Hill of Mars*; becauſe it was there Mars had been tried for the murder of Hallirrothius, the ſon of Neptune.

as had paſſed through the office of archon. [q] Nothing was ſo auguſt as this ſenate; and its reputation for judgment and integrity became ſo very great, that the Romans ſometimes referred cauſes, which were too intricate for their own deciſion, to the determination of this tribunal.

Nothing was regarded or attended to here but truth only; and to the end that no external objects might divert the attention of the judges, their tribunal was always held at night, or in the dark; and the orators were not allowed to make uſe of any exordium, digreſſion, or peroration.

Solon, to prevent as much as poſſible the abuſe which the people might make of the great authority he left them, created a ſecond council, conſiſting of four hundred men, a hundred out of every tribe; and ordered all cauſes and affairs to be brought before this council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were propoſed to the general aſſembly of the people; to the judgment of which the ſentiments of the other were to ſubmit, and to which alone belonged the right of giving a final ſentence and deciſion. It was upon this ſubject Anacharſis (whom the reputation of the ſages of Greece had brought from the middle of Scythia) ſaid one day to Solon, I wonder you ſhould empower the wiſe men only to deliberate and debate upon affairs, and leave the determination and deciſion of them wholly to fools.

Upon another occaſion, when Solon was converſing with him upon ſome other regulations he had in view, Anacharſis, aſtoniſhed that he could expect to ſucceed in his deſigns of reſtraining the avarice and injuſtice of the citizens by written laws, anſwered him in this manner: "Give me leave to tell you, that your writings are juſt like ſpiders' webs: the weak and ſmall flies may be caught and entangled in them; but the rich and powerful will break through them and deſpiſe them."

Solon, who was an able and prudent man, was very ſenſible of the inconveniencies that attend a democracy, or popular government: but having thoroughly ſtudied, and being perfectly well acquainted with the character and diſpoſition of the Athenians, he knew it would be a vain attempt to take

[q] Val. Max. l. viii. c. i. Lucian in Hermot. p. 595. Quint. l. vi. c. 1.

the ſovereignty out of the people's hands; and that if they parted with it at one time, they would ſoon reſume it at another, by force and violence. He therefore contented himſelf with limiting their power by the authority of the Areopagus and the council of four hundred; judging, that the ſtate, being ſupported and ſtrengthened by theſe two powerful bodies, as by two good anchors, would not be ſo liable to commotions and diſorders as it had been, and that the people would be kept within due bounds, and enjoy more tranquillity.

I ſhall only mention ſome of the laws which Solon made, by which the reader may be able to form a judgment of the reſt. [r] In the firſt place, every particular perſon was authoriſed to eſpouſe the quarrel of any one that was injured and inſulted; ſo that the firſt comer might proſecute the offender, and bring him to juſtice for the outrage he had committed.

The deſign of this wiſe legiſlator by this ordinance was to accuſtom his citizens to have a fellow-feeling of one anothers ſufferings and misfortunes, as they were all members of one and the ſame body.

[s] By another law, thoſe perſons, that in public differences and diſſenſions did not declare themſelves of one party or other, but waited to ſee how things would go, before they determined; were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and to have all their eſtates confiſcated. Solon had learned from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich, the powerful, and even the wiſe and virtuous, are uſually the moſt backward to expoſe themſelves to the inconveniencies which public diſſenſions and troubles produce in ſociety; and that their zeal for the public good does not render them ſo vigilant and active in the defence of it, as the paſſions of the factious render them induſtrious to deſtroy it; that the juſt party being thus abandoned by thoſe that are capable of giving more weight, authority, and ſtrength to it, by their union and concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterpriſes of a few daring innovators. To prevent this misfortune, which may be attended with the moſt fatal

[r] Plut. in Solon, p. 88. [s] Ibid p. 89.

conſequences to a ſtate, Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected by the fear of greater inconveniencies to themſelves, to declare for the juſt party, at the very beginning of ſeditions, and to animate the ſpirit and courage of the beſt citizens, by engaging them in the common danger. By this method of accuſtoming the minds of the people to look upon that man almoſt as an enemy and a traitor, that ſhould appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the ſtate with a quick and ſure recourſe againſt the ſudden enterpriſes of wicked and profligate citizens.

[t] Solon aboliſhed the giving of portions in marriage with young women, unleſs they were only daughters: and ordered that the bride ſhould carry no other fortune to her huſband, than three ſuits of clothes, and ſome few houſehold goods of little value: for he would not have matrimony become a traffic, and a mere commerce of intereſt; but deſired, that it ſhould be regarded as an honourable fellowſhip and ſociety, in order to raiſe ſubjects to the ſtate, to make the married pair live agreeably and harmoniouſly together, and to give continual teſtimony of mutual love and tenderneſs to each other.

Before Solon's time, the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills; the wealth of the deceaſed always devolved upon his children and family. Solon's law allowed every one, that was childleſs, to diſpoſe of his whole eſtate as he thought fit; preferring by that means friendſhip to kindred, and choice to neceſſity and conſtraint, and rendering every man truly maſter of his own fortune, by leaving him at liberty to beſtow it where he pleaſed. This law however did not authoriſe indifferently all ſorts of donations: it juſtified and approved of none, but thoſe that were made freely and without any compulſion; without having the mind diſtempered and intoxicated with drinks or charms, or perverted and ſeduced by the allurements and careſſes of a woman: for this wiſe lawgiver was juſtly perſuaded, that there is no difference to be made between being ſeduced and being forced, looking upon artifice and violence, pleaſure and pain, in the ſame light, when they are made

[t] Plut. in Solon, p. 89.

uſe of as means to impoſe upon men's reaſon, and to captivate the liberty of their underſtandings.

[u] Another regulation he made was to leſſen the rewards of the victors at the Iſthmian and Olympic games, and to fix them at a certain value, *viz.* a hundred drachmas, which make about fifty livres, for the firſt ſort; and five hundred drachmas, or two hundred and fifty livres for the ſecond. He thought it a ſhameful thing, that athletæ and wreſtlers, a ſort of people, not only uſeleſs, but often dangerous to the ſtate, ſhould have any conſiderable rewards allotted them, which ought rather to be reſerved for the families of thoſe perſons who died in the ſervice of their country; it being very juſt and reaſonable, that the ſtate ſhould ſupport and provide for ſuch orphans, who probably might come in time to follow the good examples of their fathers.

In order to encourage arts, trades and manufactures, the ſenate of the Areopagus was charged with the care of enquiring into the ways and means that every man made uſe of to get his livelihood: and of chaſtiſing and puniſhing all thoſe who led an idle life. Beſides the fore-mentioned view of bringing arts and trades into a flouriſhing condition, this regulation was founded upon two other reaſons ſtill more important.

1. Solon conſidered, that ſuch perſons as have no fortune, and make uſe of no methods of induſtry to get their livelihood, are ready to employ all manner of unjuſt and unlawful means for acquiring money; and that the neceſſity of ſubſiſting ſome way oroth er diſpoſes them for committing all ſorts of miſdemeanours, rapines, knaveries, and frauds; from which ſprings up a ſchool of vice in the boſom of the commonwealth; and ſuch a leaven gains ground, as does not fail to ſpread its infection, and by degrees corrupt the manners of the public.

In the ſecond place, the moſt able ſtateſmen have always looked upon theſe indigent and idle people, as a troop of dangerous, reſtleſs, and turbulent ſpirits, eager after innovation and change, always ready for ſeditions and inſurrections, and intereſted in revolutions of the ſtate, by which

[u] Plut. p. 91. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

alone they can hope to change their own ſituation and fortune. It was for all theſe reaſons, that, in the law we are ſpeaking of, Solon declared, that a ſon ſhould not be obliged to ſupport his father in old age or neceſſity, if the latter had not taken care to have his ſon brought up to ſome trade or occupation: all children that were ſpurious and illegitimate were exempted from the ſame duty: for it is evident, ſays Solon, that whoever contemns the dignity and ſanctity of matrimony in ſuch a manner, has never had in view the lawful end we ought to propoſe to ourſelves in having children, but only the gratification of a looſe paſſion. Having then ſatisfied his own deſires, and had the end he propoſed to himſelf, he has no proper right over the perſons he begot, upon whoſe lives as well as births, he has entailed an indelible infamy and reproach.

[x] It was prohibited to ſpeak any ill of the dead; becauſe religion directs us to account the dead as ſacred, juſtice requires us to ſpare thoſe that are no more, and good policy ſhould hinder hatreds from becoming immortal.

It was alſo forbidden to affront or give ill language to any body in the temples, in courts of judicature, in public aſſemblies, and in the theatres, during the time of repreſentation: for to be no where able to govern our paſſions and reſentments, argues too untractable and licentious a diſpoſition; as to reſtrain them at all times and upon all occaſions, is a virtue beyond the mere force of human nature, and a perfection reſerved for the evangelical law.

Cicero obſerves, that this wiſe legiſlator of Athens, whoſe laws were in force even in his time, had provided no law againſt parricide; and being aſked the reaſon why he had not, he anſwered, "* That to make laws againſt, and ordain puniſhments for a crime, that had never been known or heard of, was the way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it." I omit ſeveral of his laws concerning marriage and adultery, in which there are remarkable and manifeſt contradictions, and a great mixture of light and darkneſs, knowledge and error, which we generally find among the very

[x] Plut. in Solon, p. 89.

* *Sapienter feciſſe dicitur, cum de eo nihil ſanxerit, quod antea commiſſum noterat; ne, non tam prohibere, quàm admonere, videretur.* Pro. Roſ. Amer. n. 70.

wiſeſt of the heathens, who had no eſtabliſhed principles or rules to go by.

After Solon had publiſhed his laws, and engaged the people by public oath to obſerve them religiouſly, at leaſt for the term of a hundred years, he thought proper to remove from Athens, in order to give them time to take root, and to gather ſtrength by cuſtom; as alſo to rid himſelf of the trouble and importunity of thoſe who came to conſult him about the ſenſe and meaning of his laws, and to avoid the complaints and odium of others: for, as he ſaid himſelf, in great undertakings it is hard (if not impoſſible) to pleaſe all parties. He was abſent ten years, in which interval of time we are to place his journeys into Egypt, into Lydia, to viſit king Crœſus, and into ſeveral other countries. [y] At his return he found the whole city in commotion and trouble; the three old factions were revived, and had formed three different parties; Lycurgus was at the head of the people that inhabited the low lands: Megacles, ſon of Alcmeon was the leader of the inhabitants upon the ſea-coaſts; and Piſiſtratus had declared for the mountaineers, to whom were joined the handicrafts-men and labourers who lived by their induſtry, and whoſe chief ſpleen was againſt the rich: of theſe three leaders the two laſt were the moſt powerful and conſiderable.

A. M. 3445. Ant. J. C. 559.

[z] Megacles was the ſon of that Alcmeon whom Crœſus had extremely enriched for a particular ſervice he had done him. He had likewiſe married a lady, who had brought him an immenſe portion: her name was Agariſta, the daughter of Cliſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon: this Cliſthenes was at this time the richeſt and moſt opulent prince in Greece. In order to be able to chooſe a worthy ſon-in-law, and to know his temper, manners, and character from his own experience, Cliſthenes invited all the young noblemen of Greece to come and ſpend a year with him at his houſe; for this was an ancient cuſtom in that country. Several youths accepted the invitation, and there came from different parts to the number of thirteen. Nothing was ſeen every day but races, games, tournaments, magnificent entertainments, and converſations upon all ſorts of queſtions and ſubjects.

[y] Plut. in Solon, p. 94. [z] Herod. lib. vi. c. 125—131.

One of the gentlemen, who had hitherto ſurpaſſed all his competitors, loſt the princeſs, by uſing ſome indecent geſtures and poſtures in his dancing, with which her father was extremely offended. Cliſthenes, at the end of the year, declared for Megacles, and ſent the reſt of the noblemen away loaded with civilities and preſents. This was the Megacles of whom we are ſpeaking.

[a] Piſiſtratus was a well-bred man, of a gentle and inſinuating behaviour, ready to ſuccour and aſſiſt the * poor; wiſe and moderate towards his enemies; a moſt artful and accompliſhed diſſembler; and one, who had all appearances of virtue, even beyond the moſt virtuous; who ſeemed to be the moſt zealous ſtickler for equality among the citizens, and who abſolutely declared againſt all innovations and change.

It was not very hard for him to impoſe upon the people with all his artifice and addreſs. But Solon quickly ſaw through his diſguiſe, and perceived the drift of all his ſeeming virtue and fair pretences: however he thought fit to obſerve meaſures with him in the beginning, hoping perhaps by gentle methods to bring him back to his duty.

[b] It was at this time † Theſpis began to change the Grecian tragedy: I ſay change, becauſe it was invented long before. This novelty drew all the world after it. Solon went among the reſt for the ſake of hearing Theſpis, who acted himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the ancient poets. When the play was ended, he called to Theſpis, and aſked him, "Why he was not aſhamed to utter ſuch lies before ſo many people?" Theſpis made anſwer, "That there was no harm in lies of that ſort, and in poetical fictions which were only made for diverſion." "No;" replid Solon, giving a great

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 95. [b] Plut. in Solon, p. 95.

* We are not here to underſtand ſuch as begged or aſked alms; for in thoſe times ſays Iſocrates, there was no citizen that died of hunger, or diſhonoured his city by begging. *Orat. Areop. p.* 369.

† Tragedy was in being a long time before Theſpis; but it was only a chorus of perſons that ſung, and ſaid opprobrious things to one another. Theſpis was the firſt that improved this chorus by the addition of a perſonage, or character, who, in order to give the reſt time to take breath and recover their ſpirits, recited an adventure of ſome illuſtrious perſon. And this recital gave occaſion afterwards for introducing the ſubjects of tragedies.

ſtroke with his ſtick upon the ground; "but if we ſuffer and approve of lying for our own diverſion, it will quickly find its way into our ſerious engagements, and all our buſineſs and affairs."

[c] In the mean time Piſiſtratus ſtill puſhed on his point; and in order to accompliſh it, made uſe of a ſtratagem, that ſucceeded as well as he could expect.

[d] He gave himſelf ſeveral wounds; and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a chariot into the market-place, where he raiſed and enflamed the populace, by giving them to underſtand that his enemies had treated him at that rate, and that he was the victim of his zeal for the public good.

An aſſembly of the people was immediately convened; and there it was reſolved, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances Solon could make againſt it, that fifty guards ſhould be allowed Piſiſtratus for the ſecurity of his perſon. He ſoon augmented the number as much as he thought fit, and by their means made himſelf maſter of the citadel. All his enemies betook themſelves to flight, and the whole city was in great conſternation and diſorder, except Solon, who loudly reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and folly, and the tyrant with his treachery. Upon his being aſked what it was that gave him ſo much firmneſs and reſolution? "It is," ſaid he, "my old age." He was indeed very old, and did not ſeem to riſk much, as the end of his life was very near: though it often happens, that men grow fonder of life, in proportion as they have leſs reaſon and right to deſire it ſhould be prolonged. But Piſiſtratus after he had ſubdued all, thought his conqueſt imperfect till he had gained Solon: and as he was well acquainted with the means that are proper to engage an old man, he careſſed him accordingly; omitted nothing that could tend to ſoften and win upon him, and ſhowed him all poſſible marks of friendſhip and eſteem, doing him all manner of honour, having him often about his perſon, and publicly profeſſing a great veneration for his laws; which in truth he both obſerved himſelf, and cauſed to be obſerved by others. Solon ſeeing it was impoſſible either to bring Piſiſtratus by fair means to re-

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 59—64. [d] Plut. in Solon. p. 95, 96.

nounce this uſurpation, or to depoſe him by force, thought it a point of prudence not to exaſperate the tyrant by rejecting the advances he made him, and hoped, at the ſame time, that by entering into his confidence and counſels, he might at leaſt be capable of conducting a power which he could not aboliſh, and of mitigating the miſchief and calamity that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not ſurvive the liberty of his country two years complete: for Piſiſtratus made himſelf maſter of Athens, under the archon Comias, the firſt year of the 51ſt Olympiad; and Solon died the year following, under the archon Hegeſtratus, who ſucceeded Comias.

The two parties, whoſe heads were Lycurgus and Megacles, uniting, drove Piſiſtratus out of Athens, where he was ſoon recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. But a difference, that aroſe upon occaſion of this match, having embroiled them afreſh, the Alcmæonidæ had the worſt of it, and were obliged to retire. Piſiſtratus was twice depoſed, and twice found means to reinſtate himſelf. His artifices acquired him his power, and his moderation maintained him in it; and without doubt his * eloquence, which even in Tully's judgment was very great, rendered him very acceptable to the Athenians, who were but too apt to be affected with the charms of diſcourſe, as it made them forget the care of their liberty. An exact ſubmiſſion to the laws diſtinguiſhed Piſiſtratus from moſt other uſurpers; and the mildneſs of his government was ſuch as might make many a lawful ſovereign bluſh. For which reaſon the character of Piſiſtratus was thought worthy of being ſet in oppoſition to that of other tyrants. Cicero doubting, what uſe Cæſar would make of his victory at Pharſalia, wrote to his dear friend Atticus, "† We do not yet know, whether the deſtiny of Rome will have us groan under a Phalaris, or live under a Piſiſtratus."

* *Piſiſtratus dicendo tantum valuiſſe dicitur, ut ei Athenienſes regium imperium oratione capti permitterent.* VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 9.

Quis doctior iiſdem temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia literis inſtructior fuiſſe traditur, quam Piſiſtrati? CIC. de Orat. l. iii. n. 137.

† *Incertum eſt Phalarimne, an Piſiſtratum, ſit imitaturus,* Ad ATTIC. l. vii. Ep. xix.

This tyrant indeed, if we are to call him ſo, always ſhowed himſelf very popular and moderate; [c] and had ſuch a command of his temper, as to bear reproaches and inſults with patience, when he had it in his power to revenge them with a word. His gardens and orchards were open to all the citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by Cimon. [f] It is ſaid he was the firſt who opened a public library in Athens, which after his time was much augmented, and at laſt carried into Perſia by Xerxes, [g] when he took the city. But Seleucus Nicanor, a long time afterwards, reſtored it to Athens. [h] Cicero thinks alſo, it was Piſiſtratus who firſt made the Athenians acquainted with the poems of Homer, who diſpoſed the books in the order we now find them, whereas before, they were confuſed, and not digeſted; and who firſt cauſed them to be publicly read at their feaſts, called Panathenæa. [i] Plato aſcribes this honour to his ſon Hipparchus.

[k] Piſiſtratus died in tranquillity, and tranſmitted to his ſons the ſovereign power, which he had uſurped thirty years before; ſeventeen of which he had reigned in peace.

A. M. 3478. Ant. J. C. 526.

His ſons were Hippias and Hipparchus. Thucydides adds a third, which he calls Theſſalus. They ſeemed to have inherited from their father an affection for learning and learned men. Plato, who attributes to Hipparchus [m] what we have ſaid concerning the poems of Homer, adds that he invited to Athens the famous poet Anacreon, who was of Teos, a city of Ionia; and that he ſent a veſſel of fifty oars on purpoſe for him. He likewiſe entertained at his houſe Simonides, another famous poet of the iſle of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the Ægean ſea, to whom he gave a large penſion, and made very rich preſents. The deſign of theſe princes in inviting men of letters to Athens was, ſays Plato, to ſoften and cultivate the minds of the citizens, and to infuſe into them a reliſh and love for virtue, by giving them a taſte for learning and the ſciences. Their care extended even to the inſtructing of the peaſants and country people, by erecting, not only in the ſtreets of the city, but in all the roads and highways, ſtatues of ſtone, called Mercuries, with

[c] Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [f] Athen. l. xii. p. 532. [g] Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 17.
[h] Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 137. [i] In Hipparch. p. 228.
[k] Ariſt. lib. v. de Rep. c. 12. [m] In Hip. p. 228 & 229.

grave ſentences carved upon them; in which manner thoſe ſilent monitors gave inſtructive leſſons to all paſſengers. Plato ſeems to ſuppoſe, that Hipparchus had the authority, or that the two brothers reigned together. [n] But Thucydides ſhows that Hippias, as the eldeſt of the ſons, ſucceeded his father in the government.

However it were, their reign in the whole, after the death of Piſiſtratus, was only of eighteen years duration: it ended in the following manner.

[o] Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very ſtrict friendſhip. Hipparchus, angry at firſt for a perſonal affront he pretended to have received from him, to revenge himſelf upon his ſiſter, put a public affront upon her, by obliging her ſhamefully to retire from a ſolemn proceſſion, in which ſhe was to carry one of the ſacred baſkets, alleging, that ſhe was not in a fit condition to aſſiſt at ſuch a ceremony. Her brother and his friend, ſtill more being ſtung to the quick by ſo groſs and outrageous an affront, took from that moment a reſolution to attack the tyrants. And to do it the more effectually, they waited for the opportunity of a feſtival which they judged would be very favourable for their purpoſe: this was the feaſt of the Panathenæa, in which the ceremony required, that all the tradeſmen and artificers ſhould be under arms. For the greater ſecurity they only admitted a very ſmall number of the citizens into their ſecret; conceiving, that upon the firſt motion all the reſt would join them. The day being come, they went betimes into the market-place, armed with daggers. Hippias came out of the palace and went to the Ceramicum, which was a place without the city, where the company of guards then were, to give the neceſſary orders for the ceremony. The two friends followed him thither, and coming near him, they ſaw one of the conſpirators talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend they were betrayed. They could have executed their deſign that moment upon Hippias; but were willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of the affront they had received. They therefore returned into the city, where meeting with Hipparchus, they killed him; but, being immediately ap-

[n] Lib. vi. p. 225. [o] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446—450.

prehended, themſelves were ſlain, and Hippias found means to diſpel the ſtorm.

After this affair he obſerved no meaſures, and reigned like a true tyrant, putting to death a vaſt number of citizens. To guard himſelf for the future againſt a like enterpriſe, and to ſecure a ſafe retreat for himſelf in caſe of any accident, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by a foreign ſupport, and to that end gave his daughter in marriage to the ſon of the tyrant of Lampſacus.

[p] In the mean time the Alcmæonidæ, who from the beginning of the revolution had been baniſhed from Athens by Piſiſtratus, and who ſaw their hopes fruſtrated by the bad ſucceſs of the laſt conſpiracy, did not however loſe courage, but turned their views another way. As they were very rich and powerful, they got themſelves appointed by the Amphyctions, that is, the heads of the grand or general council of Greece, ſuperintendants for rebuilding the temple of Delphos, for the ſum of three hundred talents, or nine hundred thouſand livres*. As they were generous in their natures, and beſides had their reaſons for being ſo on this occaſion, they added to this ſum a great deal of their own money, and made the whole frontiſpiece of the temple all of Parian marble, at their particular expence; whereas, by the contract made with the Amphyctions, it was only to have been made of common ſtone.

The liberality of the Alcmæonidæ was not altogether a free bounty; neither was their magnificence towards the God of Delphos, a pure effect of religion. Policy was the chief motive. They hoped by this means to acquire great credit and influence in the temples, which happened according to their expectation. The money, which they had plentifully poured into the hands of the prieſteſs, rendered them abſolute maſters of the oracle, and of the pretended god who preſided over it, and who for the future becoming their echo, faithfully repeated the words they dictated to him, and gratefully lent them the aſſiſtance of his voice and authority. As often therefore as any Spartan came to conſult the prieſteſs, whether upon his own affairs, or upon thoſe of

[p] Herod. l. v. c. 62—96.

* About 40,000l. ſterling.

the ſtate, no promiſe was ever made him of the god's aſſiſtance, but upon conditions that the Lacedæmonians ſhould deliver Athens from the yoke of tyranny. This order was ſo often repeated to them by the oracle, that they reſolved at laſt to make war againſt the Piſiſtratides, though they were under the ſtrongeſt engagements of friendſhip and hoſpitality with them; herein preferring the will * of God, ſays Herodotus, to all human conſiderations.

The firſt attempt of this kind miſcarried; and the troops they ſent againſt the tyrant were repulſed with loſs. Notwithſtanding, a little time after they made a ſecond, which ſeemed to promiſe no better an iſſue than the firſt; becauſe moſt of the Lacedæmonians, ſeeing the ſiege they had laid before Athens likely to continue a great while, retired, and left only a ſmall number of troops to carry it on. But the tyrant's children, who had been clandeſtinely conveyed out of the city, in order to be put in a ſafe place, being taken by the enemy, the father to redeem them, was obliged to come to an accommodation with the Athenians, by which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould depart out of Attica in five days time. Accordingly he actually retired within the time limited, and ſettled at Sigæum, a town in Phrygia, ſeated at the mouth of the river Scamander. A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508.

[r] Pliny obſerves, that the tyrants were driven out of Athens the ſame year the kings were expelled Rome. Extraordinary honours were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. Their names were infinitely reſpected at Athens in all ſucceeding ages, and almoſt held in equal reverence with thoſe of the gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them in the market-place, which was an honour, that never had been rendered to any man before. The very ſight of theſe ſtatues, expoſed to the view of all the citizens, kept up their hatred and deteſtation of tyranny, and daily renewed their ſentiments of gratitude to thoſe generous defenders of their liberty, who had not ſcrupled to purchaſe it with their lives, and to ſeal it with their blood. [s] Alexander the Great, who knew how dear the memory of theſe men were to the Athenians, and how far they carried their zeal

[r] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 4. [s] Ibid. c. 8.

* Τα γαρ τα Θεω προσθυτερα εποιεντο, η τα των ανθρωπων.

in this reſpect, thought he did them a ſenſible pleaſure in ſending them the ſtatues of thoſe two great men, which he found in Perſia after the defeat of Darius, and which Xerxes had carried thither from Athens. [t] This city at the time of her deliverance from tyranny, did not confine her gratitude ſolely to the authors of her liberty; but extended it even to a woman, who had ſignalized her courage on that occaſion. This woman was a courtezan, named Leona, who, by the charms of her beauty, and ſkill in playing on the harp, had particularly captivated Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. After their death the tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this woman, cauſed her to be put to the torture, in order to make her declare the names of the other conſpirators. But ſhe bore all the cruelty of their torments with an invincible conſtancy, and expired in the midſt of them; glorioufly ſhowing the world, that her ſex is more courageous and more capable of keeping a ſecret, than ſome men imagine. The Athenians would not ſuffer the memory of ſo heroic an action to be loſt: and to prevent the luſtre of it from being ſullied by the conſideration of her character as a courtezan, they endeavoured to conceal that circumſtance, by repreſenting her, in the ſtatue which they erected to her honour, under the figure of a lioneſs without a tongue.

[u] Plutarch, in the life of Ariſtides, relates a thing, which does great honour to the Athenians, and which ſhows to what a pitch they carried their gratitude to their deliverer, and their reſpect for his memory. They had learned that the grand-daughter of Ariſtogiton lived at Lemnos, in very mean and poor circumſtances, nobody being willing to marry her upon account of her extreme indigence and poverty. The people of Athens ſent for her, and marrying her to one of the moſt rich and conſiderable men of their city, gave her an eſtate in land in the town of Potamos for her portion.

Athens ſeemed in recovering her liberty to have alſo recovered her courage. During the reigns of her tyrants ſhe had acted with indolence and inactivity, as knowing what ſhe did was not for herſelf, but for them. But after her de-

[t] Plin. l. vii. c. 23. & l. xxxiv. c. 8. [u] Page 335.

liverance from their yoke, the vigour and activity ſhe exerted was of a quite different kind; becauſe then her labours were her own.

Athens however did not immediately enjoy a perfect tranquillity. Two of her citizens, Cliſthenes, one of the Alcmæonides, and Iſagoras, who were men of the greateſt credit and power in the city, by contending with each other for ſuperiority, created two conſiderable factions. The former, who had gained the people on his ſide, made an alteration in the form of their eſtabliſhment, and inſtead of four tribes, whereof they conſiſted before, divided that body into ten tribes, to which he gave the names of the ten ſons of Ion, whom the Greek hiſtorians make the father and firſt founder of the nation. Iſagoras, ſeeing himſelf inferior in credit to his rival, had recourſe to the Lacedæmonians. Cleomenes, one of the two kings of Sparta, obliged Cliſthenes to depart from Athens, with ſeven hundred families of his adherents. But they ſoon returned, and were reſtored to all their eſtates and fortunes.

The Lacedæmonians, ſtung with ſpite and jealouſy againſt Athens, becauſe ſhe took upon her to act independent of their authority; and repenting alſo that they had delivered her from her tyrants upon the credit of an oracle, of which they had ſince diſcovered the impoſture, began to think of reinſtating Hippias, one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus; and to that end ſent for him from Sigæum, whither he had retired. They then communicated their deſign to the deputies of their allies, whoſe aſſiſtance and concurrence they propoſed to uſe, in order to render their enterpriſe more ſucceſsful.

The deputy of Corinth ſpoke firſt on this occaſion, and expreſſed great aſtoniſhment, that the Lacedæmonians, who were themſelves avowed enemies of tyranny, and profeſſed the greateſt abhorrence for all arbitrary government, ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh it elſewhere; deſcribing, at the ſame time, in a lively manner, all the cruel and horrid effects of tyrannical government, as his own country, Corinth, had but very lately felt by woeful experience. The reſt of the deputies applauded his diſcourſe, and were of his opinion. Thus the enterpriſe came to nothing; and had no other ef-

fect, but to diſcover the baſe jealouſy of the Lacedæmonians, and to cover them with ſhame and confuſion.

Hippias, defeated of his hopes, retired into Aſia to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Perſia, whom he endeavoured, by all manner of means, to engage in a war againſt Athens; repreſenting to him, that the taking of ſo rich and powerful a city would render him maſter of all Greece. Artaphernes hereupon required of the Athenians, that they would reinſtate Hippias in the government; to which they made no other anſwer, but by a downright and abſolute refuſal. This was the original ground and occaſion of the wars between the Perſians and the Greeks, which will be the ſubject of the following volumes.

ARTICLE IX.

Illuſtrious Men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Arts and Sciences.

I BEGIN with the poets, becauſe the moſt ancient.

HOMER, the moſt celebrated and illuſtrious of all the poets, is he of whom we have the leaſt knowledge, either with reſpect to the country where he was born, or the time in which he lived. Among the ſeven cities of Greece, that contend for the honour of having given him birth, Smyrna ſeems to have the beſt title.

A. M. 3160. Ant. J. C. 844. [x] Herodotus tells us, that Homer wrote four hundred years before his time, that is three hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy: for Herodotus flouriſhed ſeven hundred and forty years after that expedition.

Some authors have pretended, that he was called Homer, becauſe he was born blind. Velleius Paterculus rejects this ſtory with contempt. * "If any man," ſays he, "believes that Homer was born blind, he muſt be ſo himſelf, and even have loſt all his ſenſes." Indeed, according to the obſervation of [y] Cicero, Homer's works are rather pictures than poems; ſo perfectly does he paint to the life, and ſet the images of every thing he undertakes to deſcribe, before the

[x] Lib. ii. c. 53. [y] Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. v. n. 114.

* *Quem ſi quis cæcum genitum putat, omnibus ſenſibus orbus eſt.* PATERC. l. i. c. 5

eyes of the reader, and he ſeems to have been intent upon introducing all the moſt delightful and agreeable objects that nature affords, into his writings, and to make them, in a manner, paſs in review before his readers.

* What is moſt aſtoniſhing in this poet is, that having applied himſelf the firſt, at leaſt of thoſe that are known, to that kind of poetry, which is the moſt ſublime and difficult of all, he ſhould however ſoar ſo high, and with ſuch rapidity, at the firſt flight as it were, as to carry it at once to the utmoſt perfection; which ſeldom or never happens in other arts, but by ſlow degrees, and after a long ſeries of years.

The kind of poetry we are ſpeaking of, is the epic poem, ſo called from the Greek word ἔπος; becauſe it is an action related by the poet. The ſubject of this poem muſt be great, inſtructive, ſerious, containing only one principal event, to which all the reſt muſt refer and be ſubordinate: and this principal action muſt have paſſed a certain ſpace of time, which muſt not exceed a year at moſt.

Homer has compoſed two poems of this kind, the Iliad and the Odyſſey: the ſubject of the firſt is the anger of Achilles, ſo pernicious to the Greeks, when they beſieged Ilion, or Troy; and that of the ſecond is the voyages and adventures of Ulyſſes, after the taking of that city.

It is remarkable that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems, comparable to his; and that whoever have attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from Homer, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only ſucceeded in proportion to their ſucceſs in copying him. The truth is, Homer was an original genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: [y] *Fons ingeniorum Homerus.*

All the greateſt men and the moſt exalted geniuſes, that have appeared for theſe two thouſand and five or ſix hun-

[y] Plin. l. xvii. c. 5.

* *Clariſſimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, ſine exemplo maximum: qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, ſolus appellari Poeta meruit. In quo hoc maximum eſt, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur: neque poſt illum, qui imitari cum poſſit, inventus eſt; neque quemquam alium, cujus operis primus auctor, fuerit, in eo perfectiſſimum præter Homerum et Archilocum reperiemus.* VELL. PATERC. l. i. c. 5.

dred years, in Greece, Italy, and elſewhere; thoſe, whoſe writings we are forced ſtill to admire; who are ſtill our maſters, and who teach us to think, to reaſon, to ſpeak, and to write; all theſe, * ſays Madam Dacier, acknowledge Homer to be the greateſt of poets, and look upon his poems as the model for all ſucceeding poets to form their taſte and judgment upon. After all this, can there be any man ſo conceited of his own talents, be they ever ſo great, as reaſonably to preſume, that his deciſions ſhould prevail againſt ſuch an univerſal concurrence of judgment in perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities and characters?

So many teſtimonies, ſo ancient, ſo conſtant, and ſo univerſal, entirely juſtify Alexander the Great's favourable judgment of the works of Homer, which he looked upon as the moſt excellent and valuable production of human wit; [z] *pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus.*

[a] Quintilian, after having made a magnificent encomium upon Homer, gives us a juſt idea of his character and manner of writing in theſe few words: *Hunc nemo in magnis ſublimitate, in parvis proprietate ſuparaverit. Idem lætus ac preſſus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.* In great things, what a ſublimity of expreſſion; and in little, what a juſtneſs and propriety! Diffuſive and conciſe, pleaſant and grave, equally admirable both for his copiouſneſs and his brevity.

HESIOD. The moſt common opinion is, that he was contemporary with Homer. It is ſaid, he was born at Cuma, a town in Æolis, but that he was brought up at Aſcra, a little town in Bœotia, which has ſince paſſed for his native country. Thus Virgil calls him, the old man of Aſcra. [b] We know little or nothing of this poet, but by the few remaining poems of his, all in hexameter verſe; which are, 1ſt, *The Works and Days*; 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the genealogy of the gods; 3dly, *The Shield of Hercules:* of which laſt, ſome doubt whether it was written by Heſiod.

1. In the firſt of theſe poems, entitled, *The Works and Days*, Heſiod treats of agriculture, which requires, beſides a great deal of labour, a prudent obſervation of times, ſea-

[z] Ibid. c. 29. [a] Quin. l. x. cap. 1. [b] Eclog. vi. v. 70.

* In Homer's life, which is prefixed to the tranſlation of the Iliad.

ſons, and days. This poem is full of excellent ſentences and maxims for the conduct of life. He begins it with a ſhort, but lively deſcription of two ſorts of diſputes; the one fatal to mankind, the ſource of quarrels, diſcords, and wars; and the other, infinitely uſeful and beneficial to men, as it ſharpens their wits, excites a noble and generous emulation among them, and prepares the way for the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences. He then makes an admirable deſcription of the four different ages of the world; the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron age. The perſons who lived in the golden age, are thoſe whom Jupiter, after their death, turned into ſo many Genii* or ſpirits, and then appointed them as guardians over mankind, giving them a commiſſion to go up and down the earth, inviſible to the ſight of men, and to obſerve all their good and evil actions.

This poem was Virgil's model in compoſing his Georgics, as he himſelf acknowledges in this verſe:

Aſcræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen,[c]
And ſing the Aſcræn verſe to Roman ſwains.

The choice made by theſe two illuſtrious poets of this ſubject for the exerciſe of their muſe, ſhows in what honour the ancients held agriculture, and the feeding of cattle, the two innocent ſources of wealth and plenty. It is much to be deplored, that in after ages men departed from a taſte ſo agreeable to nature, and ſo well adapted to the preſervation of innocence and good manners. Avarice and luxury have entirely baniſhed it the world. [d] *Nimirum alii ſubiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiæ tantum artes coluntur.*

2. *The Theogony* of Heſiod, and the poems of Homer, may be looked upon as the ſureſt and moſt authentic archives and monuments of the theology of the ancients, and of the opinion they had of their gods. For we are not to ſuppoſe that theſe poets were the inventors of the fables which we read in their writings. They only collected and tranſmitted to poſterity the traces of the religion which they

[c] Georg. l. ii. v. 176. [d] Plin. in Proœm. l. xiv. * Δαίμονες.

found eſtabliſhed, and which prevailed in their time and country.

3. *The Shield of Hercules* is a ſeparate fragment of a poem, wherein, it is pretended, Heſiod celebrated the moſt illuſtrious heroines of antiquity: and it bears that title, becauſe it contains, among other things a long deſcription of the ſhield of Hercules, concerning whom the ſame poem relates a particular adventure.

The poetry of Heſiod, in thoſe places that are ſuſceptible of ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not ſo ſublime and lofty as that of Homer. Quintilian reckons him the chief in the middle manner of writing. [e] *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

A. M. 3280. Ant. J. C. 724.

ARCHILOCHUS. The poet Archilochus, born in Paros, inventor of the Iambic verſe, lived in the time of Candaules, king of Lydia. He has this advantage in common with Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus, that he carried at once a kind of poetry, which he invented, to a very great perfection. The feet which gave their name to theſe verſes, and which at firſt were the only ſort uſed, are compoſed of one ſhort and one long ſyllable. The Iambic verſe, ſuch as it was invented by Archilochus, ſeems very proper for the vehement and energetic ſtyle: accordingly we ſee that Horace, ſpeaking of this poet, ſays, that it was his anger, or rather his rage, that armed him with his Iambics, for the exerciſing and exerting his vengeance.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo [g].

And Quintilian * ſays, he had an uncommon force of expreſſion; was full of bold thoughts, and of thoſe ſtrokes that are ſhort, but keen and piercing; in a word, his ſtyle was ſtrong and nervous. The longeſt † of his poems were ſaid to be the beſt. The world have paſſed the ſame judgment upon the orations of Demoſthenes and Cicero; the latter of whom ſays the ſame of his friend Atticus's letters.

[e] Lib. i. c. 5. [g] Art. Poet.

* *Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validæ tum breves vibranteſque ſententiæ, plerumque ſanguinis atque nervorum.* QUIN. l. x. c. 1.

† *Ut Ariſtophani Archilochi iambus, ſic epiſtola longiſſima quæque optima videtur.* CIC. Epiſt. xi. l. 16. Atticum.

[h] The verſes of Archilochus were extremely biting and licentious; witneſs thoſe he writ againſt Lycambus, his father-in-law, which drove him into deſpair. For this double * reaſon, his poetry, how excellent ſoever it was reckoned in other reſpects, was baniſhed out of Sparta; as being more likely to corrupt the hearts and manners of young people, than to be uſeful in cultivating their underſtanding. We have only ſome very ſhort fragments that remain of this poet. Such a niceneſs in a heathen people, in regard to the quality of the books which they thought young people ſhould be permitted to read, is highly worth our notice, and juſtly reproaches many Chriſtians.

HIPPONAX. This poet was of Epheſus, and ſignalized his wit ſome years after Archilochus, in the ſame kind of poetry, and with the ſame force and vehemence. He was † ugly, little, lean, and ſlender. Two celebrated ſculptors and brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, (ſome call the latter Anthermus) diverted themſelves at his expence, and repreſented him in a ridiculous form. It is dangerous to attack ſatyric poets. Hipponax retorted their pleaſantry with ſuch keen ſtrokes of ſatire, that they hanged themſelves out of mortification: others ſay they only quitted the city of Epheſus, where Hipponax lived. His malignant pen did not ſpare even thoſe to whom he owed his life. How monſtrous was this! Horace ‡ joins Hipponax with Archilochus, and repreſents them as two poets equally dangerous. In the Anthologia [i] there are three or four epigrams, which deſcribe Hipponax as terrible, even after death. They admo-

[h] Hor. Ephod. Od. vi. & Epiſt. xix. l. i. [i] Anthol. l. iii.

* *Lacedæmonii libros Archilochi e civitate ſuâ exportari juſſerunt quòd eorum parùm verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Noluerunt enim eâ liberorum ſuorum animos imbui, nè plus moribus noceret, quàm ingeniis prodeſſet. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certè ſummo proximum, quia domum ſibi inviſam obſcœnis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio mulctarunt.* VEL. PAT. l. vi. c. 3.

† *Hipponactis notabilis vultûs fœditas erat: quamobrem imaginem ejus laſcivia jocorum in propoſuere ridentium circulis. Quod Hipponax indignatus amaritudinem carminum diſtrinxit in tantum, ut credatur aliquibus ad laqueum eos impuliſſe: quod falſum eſt.* PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

‡ *In malos aſperrimus*
Parata tollo cornua:
Qualis Lycambe ſpretus inſido gener,
Aut acer hoſtis Bupalo. Ephod. vi.

niſh travellers to avoid his tomb, as a place from whence a dreadful hail perpetually pours, Φευγε τον χαλαζεων ταφον, τον φριχλον. *Fuge grandinantem tumulum, horrendum.*

It is thought he invented the Soazon verſe, in which the Spondee is uſed inſtead of the Iambus, in the ſixth foot of the verſe that bears that name.

STESICHORUS. He was of Himera, a town in Sicily, and excelled in Lyric poetry, as did thoſe other poets we are going to ſpeak of. Lyric poetry is that, the verſes of which, digeſted into odes and ſtanzas, were ſung to the lyre, or to other ſuch like inſtruments. Steſichorus flouriſhed betwixt the 37th and 47th Olympiad. [k] Pauſanius, after many other fables, relates, that Steſichorus having been puniſhed with the loſs of ſight for his ſatyrical verſes againſt Helena, did not recover it, till he had retracted his invectives, by writing another ode contrary to the firſt; which latter kind of ode is ſince called *Palinodia*. Quintilian* ſays, that he ſung of wars and illuſtrious heroes, and that he ſupported upon the lyre all the dignity and majeſty of epic poetry.

ALCMAN. He was of Lacedæmon, or, as ſome will have it, of Sardis in Lydia, and lived much about the ſame time as Steſichorus. Some make him the firſt author of amorous verſes.

ALCÆUS. He was born at Mitylene in Leſbos: it is from him that the Alcaic verſe derived its name. He was a profeſſed enemy to the tyrants of Leſbos, and particularly to Pittacus, againſt whom he perpetually inveighed in his verſes. [l] It is ſaid of him, that being once in a battle, he was ſeized with ſuch fear and terror, that he threw down his arms and ran away. † Horace has thought fit to give us the ſame account of himſelf. Poets do not value themſelves ſo much upon proweſs as upon wit. ‡ Quintilian ſays, that the ſtyle of Alcæus was cloſe, magnificent, and accurate; and to

[k] Pauſ. in Lacon. p. 200. [l] Herod. l. v. c. 95.

* *Steſichorum, quàm ſit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque oſtendunt, maxima bella et clariſſimos canentem duces, et epici carminis onera lyrâ ſuſtinentem.* L. x. c. 1.

† *Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam Senſi, relicta non bene parmula.* HOR. Od. vii. l. 2.

‡ *In eloquendo brevis et magnificus et diligens, plerumque Homero ſimilis.*

complete his character, adds, that he very much reſembled Homer.

SIMONIDES. This poet was of the iſland of Ceos, in the Ægean Sea. He continued to flouriſh at the time of Xerxes's expedition. He * excelled principally in funeral elegy. The invention of local memory is aſcribed to him, of which I have ſpoke elſewhere†. At twenty-four years of age, he diſputed for, and carried, the prize of poetry.

[m] The anſwer he gave a prince, who aſked him what God was, is much celebrated. That prince was Hiero, king of Syracuſe. The poet deſired a day to conſider the queſtion propoſed to him. On the morrow he aſked two days; and whenever he was called upon for his anſwer, he ſtill doubled the time. The king, ſurpriſed at this behaviour, demanded his reaſon for it. It is, replied Simonides, becauſe the more I conſider the queſtion, the more obſcure it ſeems: *Quia quante diutius conſidero, tanto mihi res videtur obſcurior.* The anſwer was wiſe, if it proceeded from the high idea which he conceived of the Divine Majeſty, which ‡ no underſtanding can comprehend, nor any tongue expreſs.

[n] After having travelled to many cities of Aſia, and amaſſed conſiderable wealth by celebrating the praiſes of thoſe in his verſes who were capable of rewarding him well, he embarked for the iſland of Ceos, his native country. The ſhip was caſt away. Every one endeavoured to ſave what they could. Simonides took no care of any thing; and when he was aſked the reaſon for it, he replied, "I carry all I have about me:" *Mecum inquit mea ſunt cuncta.* Several of the company were drowned by the weight of the things they attempted to ſave, and thoſe who got to ſhore were robbed by thieves.

[m] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 15. [n] Phædr. l. iv.

* *Sed ne relictis, Muſa procax, jocis*
Ceæ retractes munera næniæ. HORAT.
Mœſtius lacrymis Simonideis. CATULL.

† Method of teaching and ſtudying the Belles Lettres.

‡ *Certè hoc eſt Deus quod et cùm dicitur, non poteſt dici: cùm æſtimatur, non poteſt æſtimari; cùm comparatur, non poteſt comparari: cùm definitur, ipſa definitione creſcit.* S. AUG. Serm. de temp. cix.

Nobis ad intellectum pectus anguſtum eſt. Et ideo ſic eum (Deum) dignè æſtimamus, dum inæſtimabilem decimus. Eloquar quemadmodum ſentio. Magnitudinem Dei qui ſe putat noſſe, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit. Minut. Felix.

All that eſcaped went to Clazomena, which was not far from the place where the veſſel was loſt. One of the citizens who loved learning, and had read the poems of Simonides with great admiration, was exceedingly pleaſed, and thought it an honour to receive him into his houſe. He ſupplied him abundantly with neceſſaries, whilſt the reſt were obliged to beg through the city. The poet, upon meeting them, did not forget to obſerve how juſtly he had anſwered them, in regard to his effects: *Dixi inquit, mea mecum eſſe cuncta; vos quod rapuiſtis perit.*

He was reproached with having diſhonoured poetry by his avarice, in making his pen venal, and not compoſing any verſes till he had agreed on the price of them. [o] In Ariſtotle we find a proof of this, which does him no honour. A perſon who had won the prize in the chariot-races, deſired Simonides to compoſe a ſong of triumph upon that ſubject. The poet, not thinking the reward ſufficient, replied, that he could not treat it well. This prize had been won by mules, and he pretended that animal did not afford the proper matter for praiſe. Greater offers were made him, which ennobled the mule, and the poem was made. Money has long had power to beſtow nobility and beauty.

Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.

As this animal is generated between a ſhe-aſs and a horſe, the poet, as Ariſtotle obſerves, conſidered them at firſt, only on the baſe ſide of their pedigree. But money made him take them in the other light, and he ſtyled them *illuſtrious foals of rapid ſteeds:* Χαιρετ αελλοποδων θυγατρες ιππων.

SAPPHO. She was of the ſame place, and lived at the ſame time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verſe took its name from her. She compoſed a conſiderable number of poems, of which there are but two remaining: which are ſufficient to ſatisfy us that the praiſes given her in all ages, for the beauty, pathetic ſoftneſs, numbers, harmony, and infinite graces of her poetry, are not without foundation. As a farther proof of her merit, ſhe was called the tenth muſe; and the people of Mitylene engraved her image upon their

[o] Rhet. l. iii. c. 2.

money. It were to be wiſhed, that the purity of her manners had been equal to the beauty of her genius; and that ſhe had not diſhonoured her ſex by her vices and irregularities.

[p] ANACREON. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He lived in the 27th Olympiad. Anacreon ſpent a great part of his time at the court of Polycrates, that happy tyrant of Samos; and not only ſhared in all his pleaſures, but was of his council. [q] Plato tells us, that Hipparchus, one of the ſons of Piſiſtratus, ſent a veſſel of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote him a moſt obliging letter, entreating him to come to Athens, where his excellent works would be eſteemed and reliſhed as they deſerved. It is ſaid, the only ſtudy of this poet was joy and pleaſure: and thoſe remains we have of his poetry ſufficiently confirm it. We ſee plainly in all his verſes, that his hand writes what his heart feels and dictates. It is impoſſible to expreſs the elegance and delicacy of his poems: nothing could be more eſtimable, had their object been more noble.

THESPIS. He was the firſt inventor of Tragedy. I defer ſpeaking of him till I come to give ſome account of the tragic poets.

Of the Seven Wiſe Men of Greece.

Theſe men are too famous in antiquity to be omitted in this preſent hiſtory. Their lives are written by Diogenes Laertius.

THALES, *the Mileſian*. If Cicero* is to be believed, Thales was the moſt illuſtrious of the ſeven wiſe men. It was he that laid the firſt foundations of philoſophy in Greece, and founded the ſect called the Ionic ſect; becauſe he, the founder of it, was born in the country of Ionia.

[r] He held water to be the firſt principle of all things; and that God was that intelligent being, by which all things were formed by water. The firſt of theſe opinions he had

[p] Herod. l. iii. c. 121. [q] In Hippar. p. 228, 229.
[r] Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 25.

* *Princeps Thales, unus e ſeptem cui ſex reliquos conceſſiſſe præmas ferunt.* Lib. iv. Acad. Queſt. n. 118.

borrowed from the Egyptians, who, ſeeing the Nile to be the cauſe of the fertility of all their lands, might eaſily imagine from thence, that water was the principle of all things.

He was the firſt of the Greeks that ſtudied aſtronomy: he had exactly foretold the time of the eclipſe of the ſun that happened in the reign of Aſtyages, king of Media, of which mention has been made already.

He was alſo the firſt that fixed the term and duration of the ſolar year among the Grecians. By comparing the bigneſs of the ſun's body with that of the moon, he thought he had diſcovered that the body of the moon was in ſolidity but the 720th part of the ſun's body, and, conſequently, that the ſolid body of the ſun was above 700 times bigger than the ſolid body of the moon. This computation is very far from being true; as the ſun's ſolidity exceeds not only 700 times, but many millions of times, the moon's magnitude or ſolidity. But we know that in all theſe matters, and particularly in that of which we are now ſpeaking, the firſt obſervations and diſcoveries were very imperfect.

[s] When Thales travelled into Egypt, he diſcovered an eaſy and certain method for taking the exact height of the pyramids, by obſerving the time when the ſhadow of our body is equal in length to the height of the body itſelf.

[t] To ſhow that philoſophers were not ſo deſtitute of that ſort of talents and capacity which is proper for buſineſs, as ſome people imagined; and that they would be as ſucceſsful as others in growing rich, if they thought fit to apply themſelves that way, he bought the fruit of all the olive trees in the territory of Miletos before they were in bloſſom. The profound knowledge he had of nature had probably enabled him to foreſee that the year would be extremely fertile. It proved ſo in effect; and he made a conſiderable profit of his bargain.

He uſed to thank the gods for three things; that he was born a reaſonable creature, and not a beaſt; a man and not a woman; a Greek and not a Barbarian. Upon his mother's preſſing him to marry, when he was young, he told her it was then too ſoon; and after ſeveral years were elapſed, he told her, it was then too late.

[s] Plin. lib xxxvi. cap. 12. [t] Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 111.

As he was one day walking, and very attentively contemplating the ſtars, he chanced to fall into a ditch. Ha! ſays to him a good old woman that was by, how will you perceive what paſſes in the heavens, and what is ſo infinitely above your head, if you cannot ſee what is juſt at your feet, and before your noſe?

"He was born the firſt year of the 35th, and died the firſt year of the 58th Olympiad: conſequently he lived to be above ninety years of age. A. M. 3467. Ant. J. C. 545.

SOLON. His life has already been related at length.

CHILO. He was a Lacedæmonian: very little is related of him. Æſop aſking him one day, how Jupiter employed himſelf? *In humbling thoſe*, ſays he, *that exalt themſelves, and exalting thoſe that abaſe themſelves.*

He died of joy at Piſa, upon ſeeing his ſon win the prize at boxing, at the Olympic games. He ſaid, when he was dying that he was not conſcious to himſelf of having committed any fault during the whole courſe of his life (an opinion well becoming the pride and blindneſs of a heathen philoſopher;) unleſs it was once, by having made uſe of a little diſſimulation and evaſion, in giving judgment in favour of a friend: in which action he did not know whether he had done well or ill. He died about the 52d Olympiad.

PITTACUS. He was of Mitylene, a city of Leſbos. Joining with the brothers of Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet, and with Alcæus himſelf, who was at the head of the exiled party, he drove the tyrants who had uſurped the government out of that iſland.

The inhabitants of Mitylene, being at war with the Athenians, gave Pittacus the command of the army. To ſpare the blood of his fellow-citizens he offered to fight Phrynon, the enemy's general, in ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted. Pittacus was victorious and killed his adverſary. The Mitylenians, out of gratitude, with unanimous conſent conferred the ſovereignty of the city upon him; which he accepted, and behaved himſelf with ſo much moderation and wiſdom, that he was always reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects.

In the mean time Alcæus, who was a declared enemy to all tyrants, did not ſpare Pittacus in his verſes, notwithſtand-

ing the mildneſs of his government and temper, but inveighed ſeverely againſt him. The poet fell afterwards into Pittacus's hands, who was ſo far from taking revenge, that he gave him his liberty, and ſhowed by that act of clemency and generoſity that he was only a tyrant in name.

After having governed ten years with great equity and wiſdom, he voluntarily reſigned his authority, and retired. * He uſed to ſay, that the proof of a good government was to engage the ſubjects, not to be afraid of their prince, but to be afraid for him. It was a maxim with him, that no man ſhould ever give himſelf the liberty of ſpeaking ill of a friend, or even of an enemy. He died the 52d Olympiad.

BIAS. We know but very little of Bias. He obliged Alyattus, king of Lydia, by ſtratagem, to raiſe the ſiege of Priene, where he was born. This city was hard preſſed with famine; upon which he cauſed two mules to be fattened, and contrived a way to have them paſs into the enemy's camp. The good condition they were in aſtoniſhed the king, who thereupon ſent deputies into the city, upon pretence of offering peace, but really to obſerve the ſtate of the town and the people. Bias, gueſſing their errand, ordered the granaries to be filled with great heaps of ſand, and thoſe heaps to be covered over with corn. When the deputies returned, and made report to the king, of the great plenty of proviſion they had ſeen in the city, he heſitated no longer, but concluded a treaty, and raiſed the ſiege. † One of the maxims Bias particularly taught and recommended, was to do all the good we can, and aſcribe all the glory of it to the gods.

CLEOBULUS. We know as little of this wiſe man as of the former. He was born at Lindos, a town in the iſle of Rhodes; or, as ſome will have it, in Caria. He invited Solon to come and live with him, when Piſiſtratus had uſurped the ſovereignty of Athens.

PERIANDER. He was numbered among the wiſe men, though he was a tyrant of Corinth. When he had firſt made himſelf maſter of that city, he writ to Thraſybulus, tyrant of

* Ει τις υπηκοος ο αρχων παρασκευησειε φοβεισθαι μη αυτον, αλλ υπερ αυτου. Plut. in Conv. ſep. ſap. p. 152.

† Ο, τι αν αγαθον εις πραξις θεος αναπεμπα.

Miletos, to know what meaſures he ſhould take with his new-acquired ſubjects. The latter, without any other anſwer, led the meſſenger into a field of wheat, where in walking along he beat down with his cane all the ears of corn that were higher than the reſt. Periander perfectly well underſtood the meaning of this enigmatical anſwer, which was a tacit intimation to him, in order to ſecure his own life, he ſhould cut off the moſt eminent of the Corinthian citizens. [x] But if we may believe Plutarch, Periander did not reliſh ſo cruel an advice.

[y] He wrote circular letters to all the wiſe men, inviting them to paſs ſome time with him at Corinth, as they had done the year before at Sardis with Crœſus. Princes in thoſe days thought themſelves much honoured when they could have ſuch gueſts in their houſes. [z] Plutarch deſcribes an entertainment, which Periander gave theſe illuſtrious gueſts, and obſerves at the ſame time, that the decent ſimplicity of it adapted to the taſte and humour of the perſons entertained, did him much more honour, than the greateſt magnificence could have done. The ſubject of their diſcourſe at table was ſometimes grave and ſerious, and ſometimes pleaſant and gay. One of the company propoſed this queſtion: Which is the moſt perfect popular government? That, anſwered Solon, where an injury done to any private citizen is ſuch to the whole body: That, ſays Bias, where the law has no ſuperior: That, ſays Thales, where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor: That, ſays Anacharſis, where virtue is honoured, and vice deteſted: Says Pittacus, where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the wicked: Says Cleobulus, where the citizens fear blame more than puniſhment: Says Chilo, where the laws are more regarded, and have more authority than the orators. From all theſe opinions Periander concluded, that the moſt perfect popular government would be that which came neareſt to ariſtocracy, where the ſovereign authority is lodged in the hands of a few men of honour and virtue.

[x] In Conv. ſept. ſap. [y] Diog. Laert. in vit. Periand.
[z] In Conv. ſept. ſap.

Whilſt theſe wiſe men were aſſembled together at Periander's court, a courier arrived from Amaſis king of Egypt, with a letter for Bias, with whom that king kept a cloſe correſpondence. The purport of this letter was to conſult him how he ſhould anſwer a propoſal made to him by the king of Ethiopia, of his drinking up the ſea; in which caſe the Ethiopian king promiſed to reſign to him a certain number of cities in his dominions: but if he did not do it, then he, Amaſis, was to give up the ſame number of his cities to the king of Ethiopia. It was uſual in thoſe days for princes to propound ſuch enigmatical and puzzling queſtions to one another. Bias anſwered him directly, and adviſed him to accept the offer, on condition the king of Ethiopia would ſtop all the rivers that flowed into the ſea; for the buſineſs was only to drink up the ſea, and not the rivers. We find an anſwer to the ſame effect aſcribed to Æſop.

I muſt not here forget to take notice, that theſe wiſe men, of whom I have been ſpeaking, were all lovers of poetry, and compoſed verſes themſelves, ſome of them a conſiderable number, upon ſubjects of morality and policy, which are certainly topics not unworthy of the muſes. [a] Solon however is reproached for having written ſome licentious verſes; which may teach us what judgment we ought to form of theſe pretended wiſe men of the pagan world.

Inſtead of ſome of the wiſe men which I have mentioned, ſome people have ſubſtituted others; as Anacharſis, for example, Myſo, Epimenides, Pherecydes. The firſt of theſe is the moſt known in ſtory.

ANACHARSIS. Long before Solon's time the Scythian Nomades were in great reputation for their ſimplicity, frugality, temperance, and juſtice. [b] Homer calls them a very juſt nation. Anacharſis was one of theſe Scythians, and of the royal family. A certain Athenian, once in company with Anacharſis, reproached him with his country: My country, you think, replied Anacharſis, is no great honour to me; and you, ſir, in my opinion, are no great honour to your country. His good ſenſe, profound knowledge, and great experience, made him paſs for one of the ſeven wiſe

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 79. [b] Iliad lib. xi. c. 6.

men. He writ a treatiſe in verſe upon the art military, and compoſed another tract on the laws of Scythia.

He uſed to make viſits to Solon. It was in a converſation with him that he compared laws to cobwebs, which only entangled little flies, whilſt waſps and hornets break through them.

Being inured to the auſtere and poor life of the Scythians, he ſet little value upon riches. Crœſus invited him to come and ſee him, and without doubt hinted to him, that he was able to mend his fortune. "I have no occaſion for your gold," ſaid the Scythian in his anſwer; "I came into Greece only to enrich my mind, and improve my underſtanding; I ſhall be very well ſatisfied, if I return into my own country, not with an addition to my wealth, but with an increaſe of knowledge and virtue." However, Anacharſis accepted the invitation, and went to that prince's court.

[c] We have already obſerved that Æſop was much ſurpriſed and diſſatisfied at the cold and indifferent manner, in which Solon viewed the magnificence of the palace, and the vaſt treaſures of Crœſus; becauſe it was the maſter and not the houſe, that the philoſopher would have had reaſon to admire. "Certainly," ſays Anacharſis to Æſop on that occaſion, "you have forgot your own fable of the fox and panther. The latter, for her higheſt virtue, could only ſhow her fine ſkin, beautifully marked and ſpotted with different colours: the fox's ſkin, on the contrary, was very plain, but contained within it a treaſure of ſubtilties and ſtratagems, of infinite value. This very image continued the Scythian, ſhows me your own character. You are affected with a ſplendid outſide, whilſt you pay little or no regard to what is truly the man, that is, to that which is in him, and conſequently properly his."

This would be the proper place for an epitome of the life and ſentiments of Pythagoras, who flouriſhed in the time of which I have been ſpeaking. But this I defer till I come to another volume, wherein I deſign to join a great many philoſophers together, in order to give the reader the better opportunity of comparing their reſpective doctrines and tenets.

[c] Plut. in Conv. ſept. ſap. p. 155.

ÆSOP. I join Æſop with the wiſe men of Greece; not only becauſe he was often amongſt them*, but becauſe he taught true wiſdom with far more art than they do who teach it by rules and definitions.

Æſop was by birth a Phrygian. As to his mind, he had abundance of wit; but with regard to his body, he was hunch-backed, little, crooked, deformed, and withal of very uncomely countenance; having ſcarce the figure of a man; and for a very conſiderable time almoſt without the uſe of ſpeech. As to his condition of life, he was a ſlave; and the merchant who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his hands, ſo extremely were people ſhocked at his unſightly figure and deformity.

The firſt maſter he had, ſent him to labour in the field, whether it was that he thought him incapable of any better employment, or only to remove ſo diſagreeable an object out of his ſight.

He was afterwards ſold to a philoſopher, named Xanthus. I ſhould never have done ſhould I relate all the ſtrokes of wit, the ſprightly repartees, and the arch and humorous circumſtances of his words and behaviour. One day his maſter, deſigning to treat ſome of his friends, ordered Æſop to provide the beſt things he could find in the market. Æſop thereupon made a large proviſion of tongues, which he deſired the cook to ſerve up with different ſauces. When dinner came, the firſt and ſecond courſe, the laſt ſervice, and all the made diſhes were tongues. Did I not order you, ſays Xanthus in a violent paſſion, to buy the beſt victuals the market afforded? And have I not obeyed your orders? ſays Æſop. Is there any thing better than tongues? Is not the tongue the bond of civil ſociety, the key of ſciences, and the organ of truth and reaſon? By means of the tongue cities are built, and governments eſtabliſhed and adminiſtered: with that men inſtruct, perſuade, and preſide in aſſemblies: it is the inſtrument by which we acquit ourſelves of the chief of all our duties, the praiſing and ador-

* *Æſopus ille é Phrygia fabulator, haud immerito ſapiens exiſtimatus eſt: cum quæ utilia monitu ſuaſuſque erant non ſeverè, non imperioſe præcepit et cenſuit, ut philoſophis mos eſt, ſed feſtivos delectabileſque apologos commentus, res ſalubriter ac proſpicienter animadverſas, in mentes animoſque hominum, cum auditori quadam illecebra induit.* AUL. GELL. Noct. Art. lib. ii. cap. 29.

ing the gods. Well then, replied Xanthus, thinking to catch him, go to market again to-morrow, and buy me the worſt things you can find. This ſame company will dine with me, and I have a mind to diverſify my entertainment. Æſop the next day provided nothing but the very ſame diſhes; telling his maſter that the tongue was the worſt thing in the world. It is, ſays he, the inſtrument of all ſtriſe and contention, the fomenter of law-ſuits, and the ſource of diviſion and wars; it is the organ of error, of lies, calumny, and blaſphemies.

Æſop found it very difficult to obtain his liberty. One of the firſt cauſes he made of it was to go to Crœſus, who on account of his great reputation and fame, had been long deſirous to ſee him. The ſtrange deformity of Æſop's perſon ſhocked the king at firſt, and much abated the good opinion he had conceived of him. But the beauty of his mind ſoon diſcovered itſelf through the coarſe veil that covered it; and Crœſus found, as Æſop ſaid on another occaſion, that we ought not to conſider the form of the veſſel, but the quality of the liquor it contains.

[d] He made ſeveral voyages into Greece, either for pleaſure, or upon the affairs of Crœſus. Being at Athens ſome ſmall time after Piſiſtratus had uſurped the ſovereignty, and aboliſhed the popular government, and obſerving that the Athenians bore this new yoke with great impatience, he repeated to them the fable of the frogs, who demanded a king from Jupiter.

It is doubted whether the fables of Æſop, ſuch as we have them, are all his, at leaſt in regard to the expreſſion. Great part of them are aſcribed to Planudius, who wrote his life, and lived in the 14th century.

Æſop is taken for the author and inventor of this ſimple and natural manner of conveying inſtruction by tales and fables; in which manner Phædrus ſpeaks of him:

Æſopus auctor quam materiam reperit,
Hanc ego polivi verſibus ſenariis.

[d] Phædr. l. i. fab. 2.

But the * glory of this invention is really the poet Heſiod's; an invention, which does not ſeem to be of any great importance, or extraordinary merit; and yet has been much eſteemed and made uſe of by the greateſt philoſophers and ableſt politicians. [e] Plato tells us, that Socrates, a little before he died, turned ſome of Æſop's fables into verſe: [f] and Plato himſelf earneſtly recommends it to nurſes to inſtruct their children in them betimes, in order to form their manners, and to inſpire them early with the love of wiſdom.

Fables could never have been ſo univerſally adopted by all nations, as we ſee they have, if there was not a vaſt fund of uſeful truths contained in them, and agreeably concealed under that plain and negligent diſguiſe, in which their peculiar character conſiſts. The Creator certainly deſigning the proſpect of nature for the inſtruction of mankind, endowed the brute part of it with various inſtincts, inclinations, and properties, to ſerve as ſo many pictures in little to man, of the ſeveral duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good or evil qualities he ought to acquire or avoid. Thus has he given us, for inſtance, a lively image of meekneſs and innocence in the lamb; of fidelity and friendſhip in the dog; and on the contrary, of violence, rapaciouſneſs, and cruelty in the wolf, the lion, and the tiger; and ſo of the other ſpecies of animals; and all this he has deſigned, not only as inſtruction, but as a ſecret reproof to man, if he ſhould be indifferent about thoſe qualities in himſelf, which he cannot forbear eſteeming or deteſting, even in the brutes themſelves.

This is a dumb language, which all nations underſtand: it is a ſentiment engraven in nature, which every man carries about him. Æſop was the firſt of all the profane writers, who laid hold of, and unfolded it, made happy applications of it, and attracted men's attention to this ſort of genuine and natural inſtruction, which is within the reach of all capacities, and equally adapted to perſons of all ages and

[e] Plat. in Phæd. p. 60. [f] Lib. ii. de Rep. p. 378.

* *Illæ quoque fabulæ, quæ, etiamſi originem non ab Æſopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Heſiodus) nomine tamen Æſopi maximè celebrantur, ducere animos ſolent, præcipuè ruſticorum et imperitorum: qui et ſimplicius quæ ficta ſunt audiunt, et capti voluptate, facilè iis quibus delectantur conſentiunt.* QUINTIL. l. v. c. 12.

conditions. He was the firſt that, in order to give body and ſubſtance to virtues, vices, duties, and maxims of ſociety, did, by an ingenious artifice and innocent fiction, invent the method of clothing them with graceful and familiar images borrowed from nature, by giving language to brute beaſts, and aſcribing ſenſe and reaſon to plants and trees, and all ſorts of inanimate creatures.

The fables of Æſop are void of all ornament; but abound with good ſenſe, and are adapted to the capacity of children, for whom they were more particularly compoſed. Thoſe of Phædrus are in a ſtyle ſomewhat more elevated and diffuſed, but at the ſame time have a ſimplicity and elegance, that very much reſemble the Attic ſpirit and ſtyle in the plain way of writing, which was the fineſt and moſt delicate kind of compoſition in uſe among the Grecians. Monſieur de la Fontaine, who was very ſenſible that the French tongue is not ſuſceptible of the ſame elegant ſimplicity, has enlivened his fables with a ſprightly and original turn of thought and expreſſion, peculiar to himſelf, which no other perſon has yet been able to imitate.

It is not eaſy to conceive why * Seneca lays down as a fact, that the Romans, to his time, had never tried their pens in this kind of compoſition. Were the fables of Phædrus unknown to him?

ε Plutarch relates the manner of Æſop's death. He went to Delphos with a great quantity of gold and ſilver, to offer, in the name of Crœſus, a great ſacrifice to Apollo, and to give each inhabitant a † conſiderable ſum. A quarrel which aroſe between him and the people of Delphos, occaſioned him to ſend back the money to Crœſus, and to inform him, that thoſe for whom it was intended had rendered themſelves unworthy of his bounty. The inhabitants of Delphos cauſed him to be condemned as guilty of ſacrilege, and to be thrown down from the top of a rock. The god, offended by this action, puniſhed them with a plague and famine; ſo that to

ε De ſera numinis vindicta, p. 556, 557.

* *Non audeo te uſque eò producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æſopeos logos,* INTENTATUM ROMANIS INGENIIS OPUS, *ſolita tibi venuſtate connectas.* SENEC. de Conſol. ad Polyb. c. xxvii.

† Four minas, equal to 240 livres.

put an end to thoſe evils, they cauſed it to be ſignified in all the aſſemblies of Greece, that if any one, for the honour of Æſop, would come and claim vengeance for his death, they would give him ſatisfaction. [h] At the third generation, a man from Samos preſented himſelf, who had no other relation to Æſop, but being deſcended from the perſons who had bought that fabuliſt. The Delphians made this man ſatisfaction, and thereby delivered themſelves from the peſtilence and famine that diſtreſſed them.

The Athenians, thoſe excellent judges of true glory, erected a noble ſtatue to this learned and ingenious ſlave; to let all the people know, ſays [i] Phædrus, that the ways of honour were open indifferently to all mankind, and that it was not to birth, but merit, they paid ſo diſtinguiſhing an honour.

Æſopo ingentem ſtatuam poſuere Attici,
Servumque collocarunt æterna in baſi,
Patere honoris ſcirent ut cuncti viam,
Nec generi tribui, ſed virtuti gloriam.

[h] Herod. lib. ii. cap. 134. [i] Lib. ii.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

This Book contains the Hiſtory of the Perſians and Grecians, in the Reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I. during the Space of Forty-eight Years; from the Year of the World 3483, *to the Year* 3531.

CHAP I.

The Hiſtory of Darius, intermixed with that of the Greeks.

[a] BEFORE Darius came to be king, he was called Ochus. At his acceſſion he took the name of Darius, which, according to Herodotus, in the Perſian language, ſignifies an Avenger, or a man that defeats the ſchemes of another; probably becauſe he had puniſhed and put an end to the inſolence of the Magian impoſtor. He reigned thirty years.

SECT. I. *Darius's Marriages. The impoſition of Tributes, the Inſolence and Puniſhment of Intaphernes. The Death of Oretes. The Story of Democedes, a Phyſician. The Jews permitted to carry on the building of their Temple. The Generoſity of Syloſon rewarded.*

BEFORE Darius was elected king, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whoſe name is not known. Artabarzanes, his eldeſt ſon by her, afterwards diſputed the empire with Xerxes.

[a] Herod. l. vi. c. 98. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.

A. M. 3483. Ant. J. C. 521.

[b] When Darius was ſeated in the throne, the better to ſecure himſelf therein, he married two of Cyrus's daughters, Attoſſa and Ariſtona. The former had been wife to Cambyſes, her own brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, during the time he poſſeſſed the throne. Ariſtona was ſtill a virgin when Darius married her; and of all his wives, was the perſon he moſt loved. He likewiſe married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, who was Cambyſes's brother, as alſo Phedyma, daughter to Atanes, by whoſe management the impoſture of the Magian was diſcovered. By theſe wives he had a great number of children of both ſexes.

We have already ſeen that the ſeven conſpirators, who put the Magus to death, had agreed among themſelves, that he whoſe horſe, on a day appointed, firſt neighed, at the riſing of the ſun, ſhould be declared king; and that Darius's horſe, by an artifice of his groom, procured his maſter that honour. [c] The king, deſiring to tranſmit to future ages his gratitude for this ſignal and extraordinary ſervice, cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be ſet up with this inſcription: "Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, acquired the kingdom of Perſia by means of his horſe (whoſe name was inſerted) and of his groom, Oebares." There is in this inſcription, in which we ſee the king is not aſhamed to own himſelf indebted to his horſe and his groom for ſo tranſcendent a benefaction as the regal diadem, when it was his intereſt, one would think, to have it conſidered as the fruits of a ſuperior merit: there is, I ſay, in this inſcription, a ſimplicity and ſincerity peculiar to the genius of thoſe ancient times, and extremely remote from the pride and vanity of ours.

[d] One of the firſt cares of Darius, when he was ſettled in the throne, was to regulate the ſtate of the provinces, and to put his finances into good order. Before his time, Cyrus and Cambyſes had contented themſelves with receiving from the conquered nations, ſuch free gifts only, as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they had occaſion for them. But Darius conceived, that it was impoſſible for him to preſerve all the nations, ſubject to him, in peace and ſecurity, without keep-

[b] Herod. l. iii. c. 88. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. c. 89—97.

ing up regular forces, and without aſſigning them a certain pay; or to be able punctually to give them that pay, without laying taxes and impoſitions upon the people.

In order therefore to regulate the adminiſtration of his finances, he divided the whole empire into twenty diſtricts, or governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain ſum to the ſatrap, or governor appointed for that purpoſe. The natural ſubjects, that is, the Perſians, were exempt from all impoſts. Herodotus has an exact enumeration of theſe provinces, which may very much contribute to give us a juſt idea of the extent of the Perſian empire.

In Aſia it comprehended all that now belongs to the Perſians and Turks; in Africa, it took in Egypt and part of Nubia; as alſo the coaſts of the Mediterranean, as far as the kingdom of Barca; in Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia But it muſt be obſerved, that in this vaſt extent of country, there were ſeveral nations, which were only tributary, and not properly ſubject to Perſia; as is the caſe at this day, with reſpect to the Turkiſh empire.

[c] Hiſtory obſerves, that Darius, in impoſing theſe tributes, ſhowed great wiſdom and moderation. He ſent for the principal inhabitants of every province; ſuch as were beſt acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were obliged in intereſt to give him a true and impartial account. He then aſked them, if ſuch and ſuch ſums, which he propoſed to each of them for their reſpective provinces, were not too great, or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he told them, not to oppreſs his ſubjects, but only to require ſuch aids from them as were proportioned to their incomes, and abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate. They all anſwered, that the ſums he propoſed were very reaſonable, and ſuch as would not be burdenſome to the people. The king, however, was pleaſed to abate one half, chooſing rather to keep a great deal within bounds than to riſk a poſſibility of exceeding them.

But notwithſtanding this extraordinary moderation on the king's part, as there is ſomething odious in all impoſts, the Perſians who gave the ſurname of father to Cyrus, and

[c] Plut. in Apophthegm, p. 172.

of maſter to Cambyſes, thought fit to characteriſe Darius with that of * merchant.

The ſeveral ſums levied by the impoſition of theſe tributes or taxes, as far as we can infer from the calculation of Herodotus, which is attended with great difficulties, amounted in the whole to about forty-four millions *per annum* French, or ſomething leſs than two millions Engliſh money.

[f] After the death of the Magian impoſtor, it was agreed, that the Perſian noblemen who had conſpired againſt him, ſhould, beſides ſeveral other marks of diſtinction, have the liberty of free acceſs to the king's preſence at all times, except when he was alone with the queen. Intaphernes, one of theſe noblemen, being refuſed admittance into the king's apartment, at a time when the king and queen were in private together, in a violent rage fell foul upon the officers of the palace, abuſed them outrageouſly, cutting their faces with his ſcymitar. Darius highly reſented ſo heinous an inſult; and at firſt apprehended it might be a conſpiracy amongſt the noblemen. But when he was well aſſured of the contrary, he cauſed Intaphernes, with his children and all that were of his family to be taken up, and had them all condemned to be put to death, confounding, through a blind exceſs of ſeverity, the innocent with the guilty. In theſe unhappy circumſtances, the criminal's lady went every day to the gates of the palace, crying and weeping in the moſt lamentable manner, and never ceaſing to implore the king's clemency with all the pathetic eloquence of ſorrow and diſtreſs. The king could not reſiſt ſo moving a ſpectacle, and beſides her own, granted her the pardon of any one of her family, whom ſhe ſhould chooſe. This gave the unhappy lady great perplexity, who deſired, no doubt, to ſave them all. At laſt, after a long deliberation, ſhe determined in favour of her brother.

This choice, wherein ſhe ſeemed not to have followed the ſentiments which nature ſhould dictate to a mother and a

[f] Herod. l. c. 118, 119.

* Καπηλος ſignifies ſomething ſtill more mean and contemptible; but I do not know how to expreſs it in our language. It may ſignify a *Broker*, or a *Retailer*, any one that buys to ſell again.

wife, ſurpriſed the king, who deſiring her to be aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe made anſwer, that by a ſecond marriage, the loſs of a huſband and children might be retrieved; but that, her father and mother being dead, there was no poſſibility of recovering a brother. Darius, beſides the life of her brother, granted her the ſame favour for the eldeſt of her children.

§ I have already related in this volume by what an inſtance of perfidiouſneſs Oretes, one of the king's governors in Aſia Minor, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. So black and deteſtable a crime did not go unpuniſhed. Darius found out, that Oretes ſtrangely abuſed his power, making no account of the blood of thoſe perſons, who had the misfortune to diſpleaſe him. This ſatrap carried his inſolence ſo far, as to put to death a meſſenger ſent him by the king, becauſe the orders he had brought him were diſagreeable. Darius, who did not yet think himſelf well ſettled in the throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for the ſatrap had no leſs than a thouſand ſoldiers for his guard, not to mention the forces he was able to raiſe from his government, which included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. The king therefore thought fit to proceed in a ſecret manner to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a ſervant. With this commiſſion he intruſted one of his officers, of approved fidelity and attachment to his perſon. The officer, under pretence of other buſineſs, went to Sardis, where, with great dexterity, he ſifted into the diſpoſitions of the people. To pave the way to his deſign, he firſt gave the principal officers of the governor's guard letters from the king, which contained nothing but general orders. A little while after he delivered them other letters, in which their orders were more expreſs and particular. And as ſoon as he found himſelf perfectly ſure of the diſpoſition of the troops, he then read them a third letter, wherein the king in plain terms commanded them to kill the governor; and this order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiſcated to the king; and all the perſons belonging to his family and houſehold were removed to Suſa. Among the reſt, there was a celebrated phyſician of Crotona, whoſe name was

§ Herod. l. iii. c. 120, 128.

Democedes. This phyſician's ſtory is very ſingular, and happened to be the occaſion of ſome conſiderable events.

[h] Not long after the fore-mentioned tranſaction, Darius chanced to have a fall from his horſe in hunting, by which he wrenched one of his feet in a violent manner, and put his heel out of joint. The Egyptians were then reckoned the moſt ſkilful in phyſic; for which reaſon the king had ſeveral phyſicians of that nation about him. Theſe undertook to cure the king*, and exerted all their ſkill on ſo important an occaſion, but they were ſo unhandy in the operation, and in the handling and managing the king's foot, that they put him to incredible pain; ſo that he paſſed ſeven days and ſeven nights without ſleeping. Democedes was mentioned on this occaſion by ſome perſon, who had heard him extolled at Sardis, as a very able phyſician. He was ſent for immediately, and brought to the king in the condition he was in, with his irons on, and in very poor apparel; for he was at that time actually a priſoner. The king aſked him, whether he had any knowledge in phyſic? At firſt he denied he had, fearing, that if he ſhould give any proofs of his ſkill, he ſhould be detained in Perſia, and by that means be for ever debarred from returning to his own country, for which he had an exceeding affection. Darius, diſpleaſed with his anſwer, ordered him to be put to the torture. Democedes found it was neceſſary to own the truth; and therefore offered his ſervice to the king. The firſt thing he did, was to apply gentle fomentations to the parts affected. This remedy had a ſpeedy effect: the king recovered his ſleep; and in a few days was perfectly cured, both of the ſprain and the diſlocation. To recompenſe the phyſician, the king made him a preſent of two pair of golden chains. Upon which Democedes aſked him, whether he meant to reward the happy ſucceſs of his endeavours, by doubling his misfortune? The king was pleaſed with that ſaying; and ordered his eunuchs to conduct Democedes to his wives, that they might ſee the perſon to whom he was indebted for his recovery. They all made him very magnificent preſents; ſo that in one day's time he became extremely rich.

[h] Herod. l. iii. c. 129, 130.

* Anciently the ſame perſons practiſed both as phyſicians and ſurgeons.

[i] Democedes was a native of Crotona, a city of Græcia Major, in the Lower Calabria in Italy, from whence he had been obliged to fly, on account of the ill treatment he received from his father. He firſt went to *Egina, where by ſeveral ſucceſsful cures he acquired great reputation: the inhabitants of this place ſettled on him a yearly penſion of a talent. The talent contained ſixty minas, and was worth about three thouſand livres, French money. Some time after he was invited to Athens; where they augmented his penſion to five thouſand † livres *per annum*. After this he was received into the family of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who gave him a penſion of two thouſand crowns ‡. It is very much for the honour of cities, or princes, by handſome penſions and ſalaries to engage ſuch perſons in their ſervice, as are of public benefit to mankind; and even to induce foreigners of worth and merit to come and ſettle among them. The Crotonians from this time had the reputation of having the ableſt phyſicians; and next after them the people of Cyrene in Africa. The Argives were at the ſame time reputed to excel in muſic.

[k] Democedes, after performing this cure upon the king, was admitted to the honour of eating at his table, and came to be in great credit at Suſa. At his interceſſion the Egyptian phyſicians were pardoned, who had all been condemned to be hanged for having been leſs ſkilful than the Grecian phyſician; as if they were obliged to anſwer for the ſucceſs of their remedies, or that it was a crime not to be able to cure a king. This is a ſtrange abuſe, though too common an effect of unlimited power, which is ſeldom guided by reaſon or equity, and which, being accuſtomed to ſee every thing give way implicitly to its authority, expects that its commands, of what nature ſoever, ſhould be infallibly performed! We have ſeen ſomething of this kind in the hiſtory of Nebuchadnezzar, who pronounced a general ſentence of death upon all his magicians, becauſe they could not divine what he had dreamed in the night, which he himſelf had forgot. Democedes procured alſo the enlargement of ſeveral

[i] Herod. l. iii. c. 131. [k] Herod. l. iii. c. 132.

* An iſland between Attica and Peloponneſus.

† A hundred minas. ‡ Two talents.

of thoſe perſons who had been impriſoned with him. He lived in the greateſt affluence, and was in the higheſt eſteem and favour with the king. But he was at a great diſtance from his own country, upon which his thoughts and deſires were continually bent.

[1] He had the good fortune to perform another cure, which contributed to raiſe his credit and reputation ſtill higher. Atoſſa, one of the king's wives, and daughter to Cyrus, was attacked with a cancer in her breaſt. As long as the pain of it was tolerable ſhe bore it with patience, not being able to prevail on herſelf, out of modeſty, to diſcover her diſorder. But at laſt ſhe was conſtrained to it, and ſent for Democedes; who promiſed to cure her, and at the ſame time requeſted that ſhe would be pleaſed to grant him a certain favour he ſhould beg of her, entirely conſiſtent with her honour. The queen engaged her word, and was cured. The favour promiſed the phyſician was to procure him a journey into his own country; and the queen was not unmindful of her promiſe. *It is worth while to take notice of ſuch events, which though not very conſiderable in themſelves, often give occaſion to the greateſt enterpriſes of princes, and are even the ſecret ſprings and diſtant cauſes of them.

As Atoſſa was converſing one day with Darius, ſhe took occaſion to repreſent to him, that, being in the flower of his age and of a vigorous conſtitution, capable of enduring the fatigues of war, and having great and numerous armies at command, it would be for his honour to form ſome great enterpriſe, and let the Perſians ſee they had a man of courage for their king. You have hit my thoughts, replied Darius; which were upon invading the Scythians. I had much rather, ſays Atoſſa, you would firſt turn your arms againſt Greece. I have heard great things ſaid in praiſe of the women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, Athens, and Corinth; and ſhould be very glad to have ſome of them in my ſervice. Beſides you have a perſon here, that might be very uſeful to you in ſuch an enterpriſe, and could give you a perfect

[1] Herod. cap. 135, 137.

* *Non ſine uſu fuerit introſpicere illa primo aſpectu levia, ex quels magnarum ſæpe rerum motus oriuntur.* Tac. l. iv. c. 32.

knowledge of the country: the perſon I mean is Democedes, who hath cured both you and me. This was enough for the king, and the affair was reſolved immediately. Fifteen Perſian noblemen were appointed to accompany Democedes into Greece, and to examine with him all the maritime places, as thoroughly as poſſible. The king further charged thoſe perſons above all things, to keep a ſtrict eye upon the phyſician, that he did not give them the ſlip, and to bring him back with them to the Perſian court.

Darius, in giving ſuch an order, plainly ſhowed he did not underſtand the proper methods for engaging men of wit and merit to reſide in his dominions, and for attaching them to his perſon. To pretend to do this by authority and compulſion, is the ſure way of ſuppreſſing all knowledge and induſtry, and of driving away the liberal arts and ſciences, which muſt be free and unconfined, like the genius from whence they ſpring. For one man of genius, that will be kept in a country by force, thouſands will be driven away, who would probably have choſen to reſide in it, if they could enjoy their liberty, and meet with kind treatment.

When Darius had formed his deſign of ſending into Greece, he acquainted Democedes with it, laid open his views to him, and told him the occaſion he had for his ſervice to conduct the Perſian noblemen thither, particularly to the maritime towns, in order to obſerve their ſituation and ſtrength; at the ſame time earneſtly deſiring him, that when that was done, he would return back with them to Perſia. The king permitted him to carry all his moveables with him, and give them, if he pleaſed, to his father and brothers, promiſing at his return to give him as many of greater value; and ſignified to him further, that he would order the galley, in which he was to ſail, to be laden with very rich preſents, for him to beſtow as he thought fit on the reſt of his family. The king's intention appeared by his manner of ſpeaking to be undiſguiſed and without artifice: but Democedes was afraid it might be a ſnare laid for him, to diſcover whether he intended to return to Perſia or not: and therefore to remove all ſuſpicion, he left his own goods behind him at Suſa, and only took with him the preſents deſigned for his family.

The firſt place they landed at was Sidon in Phœnicia, where they equipped two large veſſels for themſelves, and put all they had brought along with them on board another veſſel of burden. After having paſſed through, and carefully examined the chief cities of Greece, they went to Tarentum in Italy. Here the Perſian noblemen were taken up as ſpies; and Democedes taking advantage of this arreſt, made his eſcape from them, and fled to Crotona. When the Perſian lords had recovered their liberty, they purſued him thither, but could not prevail upon the Crotonians to deliver up their fellow-citizen. The city moreover ſeized the loaded veſſel; and the Perſians having loſt their guide, laid aſide the thoughts of going over to the other parts of Greece, and ſet out for their own country. Democedes let them know, at their departure, that he was going to marry the daughter of Milo, a famous wreſtler of Crotona, whoſe name was very well known to the king, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. This voyage of the Perſian noblemen into Greece, was attended with no immediate conſequence; becauſe on their return home they found the king engaged in other affairs.

[m] In the third year of this king's reign, which was but the ſecond according to the Jewiſh computation, the Samaritans excited new troubles againſt the Jews. In the preceding reigns they had procured an order to prohibit the Jews from proceeding any farther in building of the temple of Jeruſalem. But upon the lively exhortation of the prophets, and the expreſs order of God, the Iſraelites had lately reſumed the work, which had been interrupted for ſeveral years, and carried it on with great vigour. The Samaritans had recourſe to their ancient practices to prevent them. To this end they applied to Thatanai, whom Darius had made governor of the provinces of Syria and Paleſtine. They complained to him of the audacious proceeding of the Jews, who, of their own authority, and in defiance of the prohibitions to the contrary, preſumed to rebuild their temple; which muſt neceſſarily be prejudicial to the king's intereſts. Upon this repreſentation of theirs, the governor thought fit to go himſelf to Jeruſalem. And being a perſon of great

[m] Eſdr. c. v.

equity and moderation, when he had inſpected the work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a ſtop to it without any further deliberation; but enquired of the Jewiſh elders, what licence they had for entering upon a work of that nature. The Jews hereupon producing the edict of Cyrus made in that behalf, he would not of himſelf ordain any thing in contradiction of it, but ſent an account of the matter to the king, and deſired to know his pleaſure. He gave the king a true repreſentation of the matter, acquainting him with the edict of Cyrus, which the Jews alleged in their juſtification, and deſiring him to order the regiſters to be conſulted, to know whether Cyrus had really publiſhed ſuch an edict in their favour, and thereupon to ſend him inſtructions of what he thought fit to order in the affair. [n] Darius having commanded the regiſters to be examined, the edict was found at Ecbatana in Media, the place where Cyrus was at the time of its being granted. Now Darius having a great reſpect for the memory of that prince, confirmed his edict, and cauſed another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referred to, and ratified. This motive of regard to the memory of Cyrus, had there been nothing elſe to influence the king, would be very laudable: but the ſcripture informs us, that it was God himſelf who influenced the mind and heart of the king, and inſpired him with a favourable diſpoſition to the Jews. The truth of this appears pretty plain from the edict itſelf. In the firſt place it ordains, that all the victims, oblations, and other expences of the temple, be abundantly furniſhed the Jews as the prieſts ſhould require; in the ſecond place it enjoins the prieſts of Jeruſalem, when they offered their ſacrifices to the God of heaven, to pray for the preſervation of the life of the king, and the princes his children: and laſtly, it goes ſo far as to denounce imprecations againſt all princes and people, that ſhould hinder the carrying on of the building of the temple, or that ſhould attempt to deſtroy it: by all which Darius evidently acknowledges, that the God of Iſrael is able to overturn the kingdoms of the world, and to dethrone the moſt mighty and powerful princes.

[n] Ibid. vi.

By virtue of this edict, the Jews were not only authoriſed to proceed in the building of their temple, but all the expences thereof were alſo to be furniſhed to them out of the taxes and impoſts of the province. What muſt have become of the Jews, when the crimes of diſobedience and rebellion were laid to their charge, if at ſuch a juncture their ſuperiors had only hearkened to their enemies, and not given them leave to juſtify themſelves.

The ſame prince, ſome time after, gave a ſtill more ſignal proof of his love for juſtice, and of his abhorrence for accuſers and informers, a deteſtable race of men that are, by their very nature and condition, enemies to all merit and all virtue. It is pretty obvious, that I mean the famous edict, publiſhed by this prince againſt Haman in favour of the Jews, at the requeſt of Eſther, whom the king had taken to his bed in the room of Vaſthi one of his wives. According to Archbiſhop Uſher, this Vaſthi is the ſame perſon as is called by profane writers Atoſſa; and the Ahaſuerus of the holy ſcriptures the ſame as Darius: but, according to others, it is Artaxerxes. The fact is well known, being related in the ſacred hiſtory: I have given however a brief account of it in this volume.

Such actions of juſtice do great honour to a prince's memory; as do alſo thoſe of gratitude, of which Darius, on a certain occaſion, gave a very laudable inſtance. *Syloſon, brother to Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, had once made Darius a preſent of a ſuit of clothes of a curious red colour, which extremely pleaſed Darius's fancy, and would never ſuffer him to make any return for it. Darius, at that time, was but a private gentleman, an officer in the guards of Cambyſes, whom he accompanied to Memphis in his Egyptian expedition. When Darius was on the throne of Perſia, Syloſon went to Suſa, preſented himſelf at the gate of his palace, and ſent up word to the king, that there was a Grecian below to whom his majeſty was under ſome obligation. Darius, ſurpriſed at ſuch a meſſage, and curious to know the truth of it, ordered him to be brought in. When he ſaw him, he remembered him, and acknowledged him to have been his benefactor; and was ſo far from being

* Herod. l. iii. c. 139, 149.

aſhamed of an adventure, which might ſeem not to be much for his honour, that he ingenuouſly applauded the gentleman's generoſity, which proceeded from no other motive than that of doing a pleaſure to a perſon from whom he could have no expectations; and then propoſed to make him a conſiderable preſent of gold and ſilver. But money was not the thing Syloſon deſired: the love of his country was his predominant paſſion. The favour he required of the king was, that he would ſettle him at Samos, without ſhedding the blood of the citizens, by driving out the perſon that had uſurped the government ſince the death of his brother. Darius conſented, and committed the conduct of the expedition to Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who undertook it with joy, and performed it with ſucceſs.

SECT. II. *Revolt and Reduction of Babylon.*

[p] IN the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, Babylon revolted, and could not be reduced till after a twenty months ſiege. This city, formerly miſtreſs of the Eaſt, grew impatient of the Perſian yoke, eſpecially after the removing of the imperial ſeat to Suſa, which very much diminiſhed Babylon's wealth and grandeur. The Babylonians taking advantage of the revolution that happened in Perſia, firſt on the death of Cambyſes, and afterwards on the maſſacre of the Magians, made ſecretly for four years together all kinds of preparations for war. When they thought the city ſufficiently ſtored with proviſions for many years, they ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion; which obliged Darius to beſiege them with all his forces. Now God continued to accompliſh thoſe terrible threatenings he had denounced againſt Babylon: that he would not only humble and bring down that proud and impious city, but depopulate and lay it waſte with fire and blood, utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal ſolitude. In order to fulfil theſe predictions, God permitted the Babylonians to rebel againſt Darius, and by that means to draw upon themſelves the whole force of the Perſian empire and they themſelves were the firſt in putting theſe prophecies in execution, by

A. M. 3518. Ant. J. C. 516.

[p] Herod. l. iii. c. 150—160.

deſtroying a great number of their own people, as will be ſeen preſently. It is probable that the Jews, of whom a conſiderable number remained at Babylon, went out of the city before the ſiege was formed, as the prophets [q] Iſaiah and Jeremiah had exhorted them long before, and Zachariah very lately, in the following terms: "Thou Sion, that dwelleſt with the daughter of Babylon, flee from the country, and ſave thyſelf."

The Babylonians, to make their proviſions laſt the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater vigour, took the moſt deſperate and barbarous reſolution that ever was heard of; which was to deſtroy all ſuch of their own people as were unſerviceable on this occaſion.

For this purpoſe they aſſembled together all their wives and children, and ſtrangled them. Only every man was allowed to keep his beſt-beloved wife, and one ſervant maid to do the buſineſs of the family.

After this cruel execution, the unhappy remainder of the inhabitants, thinking themſelves out of all danger, both on account of their fortifications, which they looked upon as impregnable, and the vaſt quantity of proviſions they had laid up, began to inſult the beſiegers from the tops of their walls, and to provoke them with opprobrious language. The Perſians, for the ſpace of eighteen months, did all that force or ſtratagem were capable of, to make themſelves maſters of the city; nor did they forget to make uſe of the ſame means as had ſo happily ſucceeded with Cyrus ſome years before; I mean that of turning the courſe of the river. But all their efforts were fruitleſs; and Darius began almoſt to deſpair of taking the place, when a ſtratagem, till then unheard of, opened the gates of the city to him. He was ſtrangely ſurpriſed one morning to ſee Zopyrus, one of the chief noblemen of his court, and ſon of Magabyſes, who was one of the ſeven lords that made the aſſociation againſt the Magians; to ſee him, I ſay, appear before him all over blood, with his noſe and ears cut off, and his whole body wounded in a terrible manner. Starting up from his throne, he cried out, Who is it, Zopyrus, that has dared to treat you thus? You yourſelf, O king, replied Zopyrus. The

[q] Iſa. xlviii. 20. Jer. l. 8. li. 6, 9, 45. Zach. ii. 6, 9.

desire I had of rendering you service has put me into this condition. As I was fully persuaded, that you never would have consented to this method, I have consulted none but the zeal I have for your service. He then opened to him his design of going over to the enemy; and they settled every thing together that was proper to be done. The king could not see him set out upon this extraordinary project without the utmost affliction and concern. Zopyrus approached the walls of the city, and having told them who he was, was soon admitted. They then carried him before the governor, to whom he laid open his misfortune, and the cruel treatment he had met with from Darius, for having dissuaded him from continuing any longer before the city, which it was impossible for him to take. He offered the Babylonians his service, which could not fail of being highly useful to them, since he was acquainted with all the designs of the Persians, and since the desire of revenge would inspire him with fresh courage and resolution. His name and person were both well known at Babylon; the condition in which he appeared, his blood and his wounds testified for him; and, by proofs not to be suspected, confirmed the truth of all he advanced. They therefore entirely believed whatever he had told them, and gave him moreover, the command of as many troops as he desired. In the first sally he made, he cut off a thousand of the besiegers: a few days after he killed them double the number; and on the third time, four thousand of their men lay dead upon the spot. All this had been before agreed upon between him and Darius. Nothing was now talked of in Babylon but Zopyrus; the whole city strove who should extol him most, and they had not words sufficient to express their high value for him, and how happy they esteemed themselves in having gained so great a man. He was now declared generalissimo of their forces, and intrusted with the care of guarding the walls of the city. Darius approaching with his army towards the gates, at the time agreed on between them, Zopyrus opened the gates to him, and made him, by that means, master of the city, which he never could have been able to take either by force or famine.

As powerful as this prince was, he found himſelf incapable of making a ſufficient recompence for ſo great a ſervice; and he uſed often to ſay, that he would with pleaſure ſacrifice a hundred Babylons, if he had them, to reſtore Zopyrus to the condition he was in before he inflicted that cruel treatment upon himſelf. He ſettled upon him, during life, the whole revenue of this opulent city, of which he alone had procured him the poſſeſſion, and heaped all the honours upon him that a king could poſſibly confer upon a ſubject. Megabyſes, who commanded the Perſian army in Egypt againſt the Athenians, was ſon to this Zopyrus; and that Zopyrus who went over to the Athenians as a deſerter, was his grandſon.

No ſooner was Darius in the poſſeſſion of Babylon, but he ordered the hundred gates to be pulled down, and all the walls of that proud city to be entirely demoliſhed, that ſhe might never be in a condition to rebel more againſt him.

If he had pleaſed to make uſe of all the rights of a conqueror, he might upon this occaſion have exterminated all the inhabitants. But he contented himſelf with cauſing three thouſand of thoſe who were principally concerned in the revolt, to be impaled, and granted a pardon to all the reſt. And, in order to hinder the depopulation of the city, he cauſed fifty thouſand women to be brought from the ſeveral provinces of his empire, to ſupply the place of thoſe which the inhabitants had ſo cruelly deſtroyed at the beginning of the ſiege. Such was the fate of Babylon; and thus did God execute his vengeance on that impious city, for the cruelty ſhe had exerciſed towards the Jews, in falling upon a free people without any reaſon or provocation; in deſtroying their government, laws, and worſhip; in forcing them from their country, and tranſporting them to a ſtrange land; where they impoſed a moſt grievous yoke of ſervitude upon them, and made uſe of all their power to cruſh and afflict an unhappy nation, favoured however by God, and having the honour to be ſtyled his peculiar people.

SECT. III. *Darius prepares for an Expedition againſt the Scythians. A Digreſſion upon the Manners and Cuſtoms of that Nation.*

[r] AFTER the reduction of Babylon, Darius made great preparations for the war againſt the Scythians, who inhabited that large tract of land which lies between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for undertaking this war was, to be revenged of that nation for the *invaſion of Aſia by their anceſtors; a very frivolous and ſorry pretext; and a very ridiculous ground for reviving an old quarrel, which had ceaſed a hundred and twenty years before.

While the Scythians were employed in that irruption, which laſted eight-and-twenty years, the Scythians wives married their ſlaves. When their huſbands were on their return home, theſe ſlaves went out to meet them with a numerous army, and diſputed their entrance into their country. After ſome battles fought with pretty equal loſs on both ſides, the maſters conſidering that it was doing too much honour to their ſlaves to put them upon the foot of ſoldiers, marched againſt them in the next encounter with whips in their hands, to make them remember their proper condition. This ſtratagem had the intended effect: for not being able to bear the ſight of their maſters thus armed, they all ran away.

I deſign in this place to imitate Herodotus, who in writing of this war, takes occaſion to give an ample account of all that relates to the cuſtoms and manners of the Scythians. But I ſhall be much more brief in my account of this matter than he is.

A Digreſſion concerning the Scythians.

Formerly there were Scythians both in Europe and Aſia, moſt of them inhabiting thoſe parts that lie towards the

[r] Herod. l. iv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 5.

* Mention is made of this before, in chap. iii. &c.

North. I deſign now chiefly to treat of the firſt, namely of the European Scythians.

The hiſtorians, in the accounts they have left us of the manners and character of the Scythians, relate things of them that are entirely oppoſite and contradictory to one another. One while they repreſent them as the juſteſt and moſt moderate people in the world: another while they deſcribe them as a fierce and barbarous nation, which carries its cruelty to ſuch horrible exceſſes, as are ſhocking to human nature. This contrariety is a manifeſt proof, that thoſe different characters are to be applied to different nations of Scythians, all compriſed in that vaſt and extenſive tract of country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one and the ſame general denomination of Scythians, we ought not to confound them or their characters together.

[s]Strabo has quoted authors, who mention Scythians dwelling upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, that cut the throats of all ſtrangers who came amongſt them, fed upon their fleſh, and made pots and drinking-veſſels of their ſkulls, when they had dried them. [t]Herodotus, in deſcribing the ſacrifices which the Scythians offered to the god Mars, ſays, they uſed to offer human ſacrifices. Their manner* of making treaties, according to this author's account, was very ſtrange and particular. [u]They firſt poured wine into a large earthen veſſel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let ſome of their blood run into the wine, and ſtained likewiſe their armour therein; after which they themſelves, and all that were preſent, drank of that liquor, making the ſtrongeſt imprecations againſt the perſon that ſhould violate the treaty.

[x]But what the ſame hiſtorian relates, concerning the ceremonies obſerved at the funeral of their kings, is ſtill more extraordinary. I ſhall only mention ſuch of thoſe ceremonies as may ſerve to give us an idea of the cruel barbarity of this people. When their king died, they embalmed his bo-

[s] Strabo, l. vii. p. 298.
[t] Herod. l. iv. c. 62.
[u] Ibid. c. lxx.
[x] Herod. l. iv. c. 71, 72.

*This cuſtom was ſtill practiſed by the Iberians, that were originally Scythians, in the time of Tacitus, who makes mention of it. *Ann.* l. xii. c. 47.

dy, and wrapped it in wax; this done, they put it into an open chariot, and carried it from city to city, expoſing it to the view of all the people under his dominion. When this circuit was finiſhed, they laid the body down in the place appointed for the burial of it, and there they made a large grave, in which they interred the king, and with him one of his wives, his chief cup-bearer, his great chamberlain, his maſter of horſe, his chancellor, his ſecretary of ſtate; all which perſons were put to death for that purpoſe. To theſe they added ſeveral horſes, a great number of drinking veſſels, and a certain part of every kind of houſehold goods and furniture belonging to their deceaſed monarch. After which they filled up the grave, and covered it with earth. This was not all. When the anniverſary of his interment came, they cut the throats of fifty more of the dead king's officers, and of the ſame number of horſes, and placed the officers on horſeback round the king's tomb, having firſt prepared and embalmed their bodies for the purpoſe; this they did probably to ſerve him as guards. The ceremonies poſſibly took their riſe from a notion they might have of their king's being ſtill alive: and upon this ſuppoſition they judged it neceſſary, that he ſhould have his court and ordinary officers ſtill about him. Whether employments, which terminate in this manner, were much ſought after, I will not determine.

It is now time to paſs to the conſideration of their manners and cuſtoms, that had more of humanity in them; though poſſibly, in another ſenſe, they may appear to be equally ſavage. The account I am going to give of them is chiefly taken from [y] Juſtin. According to this author, the Scythians lived in great innocence and ſimplicity. They were ignorant indeed of all arts and ſciences, but then they were equally unacquainted with vice. They did not make any diviſion of their lands among themſelves, ſays Juſtin: it would have been in vain for them to have done it; ſince they did not apply themſelves to cultivate them. Horace, in one of his odes, of which I ſhall inſert a part by and by, tells us, that ſome of them did cultivate a certain portion of land allotted to them for one year only, at the expira-

[y] Lib. ii. c. 2.

tion of which they were relieved by others, who ſucceeded them on the ſame conditions. They had no houſes, nor ſettled habitation; but wandered continually with their cattle and their flocks from country to country. Their wives and children they carried along with them in waggons covered with the ſkins of beaſts, which were all the houſes they had to dwell in. Juſtice * was obſerved and maintained amongſt them through the natural temper and diſpoſition of the people, without any compulſion of laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No crime was more ſeverely puniſhed among them than theft and robbery; and that with good reaſon. For their herds and flocks, in which all their riches conſiſted, being never ſhut up, how could they poſſibly ſubſiſt, if theft had not been moſt rigorouſly puniſhed; they coveted neither ſilver nor gold, like the reſt of mankind; and made milk and honey their principal diet. They were ſtrangers to the uſe of linen or woollen manufactures; and to defend themſelves from the violent and continual cold weather of their climate, they made uſe of nothing but the ſkins of beaſts.

I ſaid before, that theſe manners of the Scythians would appear to ſome people very wild and ſavage. And indeed what can be ſaid for a nation, that has lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has herds of cattle, of which they content themſelves to eat the milk, and neglect the fleſh; the wool of their ſheep might ſupply them with warm and comfortable clothes, and yet they uſe no other raiment than the ſkins of animals. But that which is the greateſt demonſtration of their ignorance and ſavageneſs, according to the general opinion of mankind, is their utter neglect of gold and ſilver, which have always been had in great requeſt in all civilized nations.

But, oh! how happy was this ignorance; how vaſtly preferable this ſavage ſtate to our pretended politeneſs! † This contempt of all the conveniences of life, ſays Juſtin, was

* *Juſtitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.*

† *Hæc continentia illis morum quoque juſtitiam indidit, nihil alienum concupiſcentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido, eſt, ubi et uſus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus ſimilis moderatio et abſtinentia alieni foret! perfectò non tantum bellorum per omnia ſecula terris omnibus continuaretur: neque plus hominum ferrum et arma, quam naturalis fatorum conditio raperet.*

attended with such an honesty and uprightness of manners, as hindered them from ever coveting their neighbours goods. For the desire of riches can only take place, where riches can be made use of. And would to God, says the same author, we could see the same moderation prevail among the rest of mankind, and the like indifference to the goods of other people! If that were the case, the world would not have seen so many wars perpetually succeeding one another in all ages, and in all countries: nor would the number of those, that are cut off by the sword, exceed that of those who fall by the irreversible decree and law of nature.

Justin finishes his character of the Scythians with a very judicious reflection. * It is a surprising thing, says he, that a happy, natural disposition, without the assistance of education, should carry the Scythians to such a degree of wisdom and moderation, as the Grecians could not attain to, neither by the institutions of their legislators, nor the rules and precepts of all their philosophers; and that the manners of a barbarous nation should be preferable to those of a people so much improved and refined by the polite arts and sciences. So much more effectual and advantageous was the ignorance of vice in the one, than the knowledge of virtue in the other!

[z] The Scythian fathers thought with good reason, that they left their children a valuable inheritance, when they left them in peace and union with one another. One of their kings, whose name was Scylurus, finding himself draw near his end, sent for all his children, and giving to each of them, one after another, a bundle of arrows tied fast together, desired them to break them. Each used his endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the bundle, and giving them the arrows one by one, they were very easily broken. Let this image, says the father, be a lesson to you of the mighty advantage that results from union and concord. [a] In order to strengthen and enlarge these domestic

[z] Plut. de garrul. p. 511. [a] Lucian. in Tox. p. 51.

* *Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientiam doctrina præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his scientia virtutis!*

advantages, the Scythians uſed to admit their friends into the ſame terms of union with them as their relations. Friendſhip was conſidered by them as a ſacred and inviolable alliance, which differed but little from the alliance nature has put between brethren, and which they could not infringe without being guilty of a heinous crime.

Ancient authors ſeem to have ſtrove who ſhould moſt extol the innocence of manners that reigned among the Scythians, by magnificent encomiums. That of Horace I ſhall tranſcribe at large. That poet does not confine it entirely to them, the Scythians, but joins the Getæ with them; their near neighbours. It is in that beautiful ode, where he inveighs againſt the luxury and irregularities of the age he lived in. After he had told us that peace and tranquillity of mind are not to be procured either by immenſe riches or ſumptuous buildings, he adds, "A hundred times happier are the Scythians, who roam about in their itinerant houſes, their waggons; and happier even are the frozen Getæ. With them the earth, without being divided by land-marks, produceth her fruits, which are gathered in common. There each man's tillage is but of one year's continuance; and when that term of his labour is expired, he is relieved by a ſucceſſor, who takes his place, and manures the ground on the ſame conditions. There the innocent ſtepmothers form no cruel deſigns againſt the lives of their huſband's children by a former wife. The wives do not pretend to domineer over their huſbands on account of their fortunes, nor are to be corrupted by the inſinuating language of ſpruce adulterers. The greateſt portion of the maiden, is her father and mother's virtue, her inviolable attachment to her huſband, and her perfect diſregard to all other men. They dare not be unfaithful, becauſe they are convinced that infidelity is a crime, and its reward is death*."

* *Campeſtres melìùs Scythæ,*
Quorum plauſtra vagas ritè trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt!
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquala recreat ſorte vicarius.

When we conſider the manners and character of the Scythians without prejudice, can we poſſibly forbear to look upon them with eſteem and admiration? Does not their manner of living, as to the exterior part of it at leaſt, bear a great reſemblance to that of the patriarchs, who had no fixed habitation; who did not till the ground; who had no other occupation than that of feeding their flocks and herds; and who dwelt in tents? Can we believe this people were much to be pitied, for not underſtanding, or rather for deſpiſing the uſe of gold and ſilver*? Is it not to be wiſhed that thoſe metals had for ever lain buried in the bowels of the earth, and that they had never been dug from thence to become the cauſes and inſtruments of all vices and iniquity? What advantage could gold or ſilver be of to the Scythians, who valued nothing but what the neceſſities of man actually require, and who took care to ſet narrow bounds to thoſe neceſſities? It is no wonder, that, living as they did, without houſes, they ſhould make no account of thoſe arts that were ſo highly valued in other places, as architecture, ſculpture, and painting: or that they ſhould deſpiſe fine clothes and coſtly furniture, ſince they found the ſkins of beaſts ſufficient to defend them againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons. After all, can we truly ſay, that theſe pretended advantages contribute to the real happineſs of life? Were thoſe nations that had them in the greateſt plenty, more healthful or robuſt than the Scythians? Did they live to a greater age than they? Or did they ſpend their lives in greater freedom and tranquillity, or a greater exemption from

Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos eſt magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere caſtitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium eſt mori.

HOR. Lib. iii. Od. 24.

† *Aurum irrepertum, et ſic melius ſitum*
Cum terra celat, ſpernere fortior,
Quam cogere humanos in uſus
Omne ſacrum rapiente dextra.

HOR. Lib. iii. Od. 3.

cares and troubles? Let us acknowledge it, to the ſhame of ancient philoſophy; the Scythians, who did not particularly apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom, carried it however to a greater height in their practice, than either the Egyptians, Grecians, or any other civilized nation. They did not give the name of goods or riches to any thing, but what, in a human way of ſpeaking, truly deſerved that title, as health, ſtrength, courage, the love of labour and liberty, innocence of life, ſincerity, an abhorrence of all fraud and diſſimulation, and, in a word, all ſuch qualities, as render man more virtuous and more valuable. If to theſe happy diſpoſitions, we may add the knowledge and love of God and of our Redeemer, without which the moſt exalted virtues are of no value and ineffectual, they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with thoſe of the preſent age, we are tempted to believe that the pencils which drew ſo beautiful a picture, were not free from partiality and flattery; and that both Juſtin and Horace have decked them with virtues that did not belong to them. But all antiquity agrees in giving the ſame teſtimony of them. And Homer in particular, whoſe opinion ought to be of great weight, calls them *the moſt juſt and upright of men.*

But at length, (who could believe it?) luxury, that might be thought only to thrive in an agreeable and delightful ſoil, penetrated into this rough and uncultivated region; and breaking down the fences, which the conſtant practice of ſeveral ages founded in the nature of the climate, and the genius of the people had ſet againſt it, did, at laſt, effectually corrupt the manners of the Scythians, and bring them in that reſpect upon a level with the other nations, where it had long been predominant. It is [b] Strabo that acquaints us with this particular, which is very worthy of our notice: he lived in the time of Auguſtus and Tiberius. After he has greatly commended the ſimplicity, frugality, and innocence of the ancient Scythians, and their extreme averſion to all diſſimulation and deceit, he owns that their intercourſe in later times with other nations had extirpated thoſe virtues,

[b] Lib. vii. p. 301.

and planted the contrary vices in their ſtead. One would think, ſays he, that the natural effect of ſuch an intercourſe with civilized and polite nations ſhould have conſiſted only in rendering them more humanized and courteous, by ſoftening that air of ſavageneſs and ferocity, which they had before: but inſtead of that, it introduced a total diſſolution of manners amongſt them, and quite transformed them into different creatures. It is undoubtedly with reference to this change that Athenæus [c] ſays the Scythians abandoned themſelves to voluptuouſneſs and luxury, at the ſame time that they ſuffered ſelf-intereſt and avarice to prevail amongſt them.

Strabo in making the remark I have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the Romans and Grecians this fatal change of manners was owing. Our example, ſays he, has perverted almoſt all the nations of the world: by carrying the refinements of luxury and pleaſure amongſt them, we have taught them inſincerity and fraud, and a thouſand kinds of ſhameful and infamous arts to get money. It is a miſerable talent, and a very unhappy diſtinction for a nation, through its ingenuity in inventing modes, and refining upon every thing that tends to nouriſh and promote luxury, to become the corrupter of all its neighbours, and the author, as it were of their vices and debauchery.

It was againſt theſe Scythians, but at a time when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmoſt vigour, that Darius undertook an unſucceſsful expedition; which I ſhall make the ſubject of the next article.

SECT. IV. *Darius's Expedition againſt the Scythians.*

I HAVE already obſerved, that the pretence uſed by Darius, for undertaking this war againſt the Scythians, was the irruption formerly made by that people into Aſia: but in reality he had no other end therein, than to ſatisfy his own ambition, and to extend his conqueſts.

His brother Artabanes, for whom he had a great regard, and who, on his ſide, had no leſs zeal for the true intereſts of the king his brother, thought it his duty on this occaſion

[c] Athen. l. xii. p. [illegible]. [d] Herod. l. iv. c. 83–96.

to ſpeak his ſentiments with all the freedom that an affair of ſuch importance required. "Great prince," ſays he to him*, "they, who form any great enterpriſe, ought carefully to conſider, whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to the ſtate: whether the execution of it will be eaſy or difficult; whether it be likely to augment or diminiſh their glory; and laſtly, whether the thing deſigned be conſiſtent with, or contrary to the rules of juſtice. For my own part I cannot perceive, Sir, even though you were ſure of ſucceſs, what advantage you can propoſe to yourſelf in undertaking a war againſt the Scythians. Conſider the vaſt diſtance between them and you; and the prodigious ſpace of land and ſea that ſeparates them from your dominions: beſides they are a people that dwell in wild and uncultivated deſerts; that have neither towns nor houſes; that have no fixed ſettlement, or places of habitation; and that are deſtitute of all manner of riches. What ſpoil or benefit can accrue to your troops from ſuch an expedition; or to ſpeak more properly, what loſs have you not reaſon to apprehend?

"As they are accuſtomed to remove from country to country, if they ſhould think proper to fly before you, not out of cowardice or fear, for they are a very courageous and warlike people, but only with a deſign to haraſs and ruin your army by continual and fatiguing marches; what would become of us in ſuch an uncultivated, barren, and naked country, where we ſhall neither find forage for our horſes, nor proviſion for our men? I am afraid, Sir, that through a falſe notion of glory, and the influence of flatterers, you may be hurried into a war, which may turn to the diſhonour of the nation. You now enjoy the ſweets of peace and tranquillity in the midſt of your people, where you are the object of their admiration, and the author of their happineſs. You are ſenſible the gods have placed you upon the throne to be their coadjutor, or to ſpeak more properly, to be the diſpenſer of their bounty, rather than the miniſter of their power. It is your pleaſure to be the protector, the guardian,

* *Omnes qui magnarum rerum conſilia ſuſcipiunt, æſtimare debent, an quod inchoatur, reipubcæ utile, ipſis glorioſum, aut promptum effectu, aut certè non arduum ſit.* TACIT. Hiſt. ii. c. 67.

and the father of your ſubjects: and you often declare to us, becauſe you really believe ſo, that you look upon yourſelf as inveſted with ſovereign power, only to make your people happy. What exquiſite joy muſt it be to ſo great a prince as you are, to be the ſource of ſo many bleſſings; and under the ſhadow of your name to preſerve ſuch infinite numbers of people in ſo deſirable a tranquillity; Is not the glory of a king, who loves his ſubjects and is beloved by them; who, inſtead of making war againſt neighbouring or diſtant nations, makes uſe of his power to keep them in peace and amity with each other; is not ſuch a glory vaſtly preferable to that of ravaging and ſpoiling nations, of filling the earth with ſlaughter and deſolation, with horror, conſternation, and deſpair? But there is one motive more, which ought to have a greater influence upon you than all others, I mean that of juſtice. Thanks to the gods, you are not of the number of thoſe princes, who* acknowledge no other law than that of force, and who imagine that they have a peculiar privilege annexed to their dignity which private perſons have not, of invading other men's properties. †You do not make your greatneſs conſiſt in being able to do whatever you will, but in willing only what may be done, without infringing the laws, or violating juſtice. To ſpeak plain, ſhall one man be reckoned unjuſt, and a robber, for ſeizing on a few acres of his neighbour's eſtate; and ſhall another be reckoned juſt and great, and have the title of hero, only becauſe he ſeizes upon and uſurps whole provinces? Permit me, Sir, to aſk you, what title have you to Scythia? What injury have the Scythians done you? What reaſon can you allege for declaring war againſt them? The war, indeed, in which you have been engaged againſt the Babylonians, was, at the ſame time, both juſt and neceſſary: the gods have accordingly crowned your arms with ſucceſs. It belongs to you, Sir, to judge whether that which you are now going to undertake, be of the ſame nature."

* *Id in ſumma fortuna æquius quod validius: et ſua retinere, privatæ domus: de alienis certare, regiam laudem eſſe.* TACIT. Annal l. xxv, c. 1.

† *Ut fœlicitatis eſt quantum velis poſſe, ſic magnitudinis velle quantum poſſis.* PLIN. in Panegyr. Traj.

Nothing but the generous zeal of a brother, truly concerned for the glory of his prince and the good of his country, could inſpire ſuch a freedom: as on the other hand, nothing but a perfect moderation in the prince could make him capable of bearing with it. Darius*, as Tacitus obſerves of another great emperor, had the art of reconciling two things, which are generally incompatible, the ſovereignty and liberty. Far from being offended at the freedom uſed by his brother, he thanked him for his good advice, though he did not follow it; for he had taken his reſolution. He departed from Suſa at the head of an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men; and his fleet, conſiſting of ſix hundred ſail of ſhips, was chiefly manned with Ionians, and other Grecian nations, that dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts of Aſia Minor and the Helleſpont. He marched his army towards the Thracian Boſphorus, which he paſſed upon a bridge of boats. After which, having made himſelf maſter of all Thrace, he came to the banks of the Danube, otherwiſe called Iſter, where he ordered his fleet to join him. In ſeveral places on his march, he cauſed pillars to be erected with magnificent inſcriptions, in one of which he ſuffered himſelf to be called, *The beſt and handſomeſt of all men living*. What a littleneſs of ſoul and vanity was this!

And yet if all this prince's faults had terminated only in ſentiments of pride and vanity, perhaps they would appear more excuſable than they do, at leaſt they would not have been ſo pernicious to his ſubjects. [f] But how ſhall we reconcile Darius's diſpoſition, which ſeemed to be ſo exceeding humane and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel action of his towards Oebaſus, a venerable old man, whoſe merit, as well as quality, entitled him to reſpect? This nobleman had three ſons, who were all preparing themſelves to attend the king in this expedition againſt the Scythians. Upon Darius's departure from Suſa, the good old father begged as a favour of him, that he would pleaſe to leave him one of his ſons at home, to be a comfort to him in his old age. "One," replied Darius, "will not be ſufficient for you; I will leave you all

[f] Herod. l. iv. c. 84. Senec. de Ira, c. xvi.

* *Nerva Cæſar res olim diſſociabiles miſcuit, principatum et libertatem.* TACIT. in vit. Agric. cap. iii.

the three:" and immediately he cauſed them all to be put to death.

[g] When the army had paſſed the Danube upon a bridge of boats, the king was for having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving ſo conſiderable a detachment of his troops, as were neceſſary to guard it. But one of his officers repreſented to him, that it might be proper to keep that as a neceſſary reſource, in caſe the war with the Scythians ſhould prove unfortunate. The king gave into this opinion, and committed the guarding of the bridge to the care of the Ionians who built it; giving them leave, at the ſame time, to go back to their own country, if he did not return in the ſpace of two months. He then proceeded on his march to Scythia.

[h] As ſoon as the Scythians were informed that Darius was marching againſt them, they immediately entered into conſultation upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken. They were very ſenſible, that they were not in a condition to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy alone. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring people, and deſired their aſſiſtance, alleging, that the danger was general, and concerned them all, and that it was their common intereſt to oppoſe an enemy, whoſe views of conqueſt were not confined to one nation. Some returned favourable anſwers to their demand; others abſolutely refuſed to enter into a war, which, they ſaid, did not regard them; but they had ſoon reaſon to repent their refuſal.

[i] One wiſe precaution taken by the Scythians was to ſecure their wives and children, by ſending them in carriages to the moſt northern parts of the country; and with them likewiſe they ſent all their herds and flocks, reſerving nothing to themſelves but what was neceſſary for the ſupport of their army. Another precaution of theirs was to fill up all their wells, and ſtop up their ſprings, and to conſume all the forage in thoſe parts through which the Perſian army was to paſs. This done, they marched, in conjunction with their allies, againſt the enemy, not with the view of giving him battle, for they were determined to avoid that, but to

[g] Ibid. l. iv. c. 99, 101.

[h] Herod. l. iv. c. 102, 118, 119. [i] Ibid. c. 120, 125.

draw him into ſuch places as ſuited beſt their intereſt. Whenever the Perſians ſeemed diſpoſed to attack them, they ſtill retired farther up into the country; and thereby drew them on from place to place, into the territories of thoſe nations that had refuſed to enter into alliance with them, by which means their lands became a prey to the two armies of the Perſians and Scythians.

[k] Darius, weary of theſe tedious and fatiguing purſuits, ſent a herald to the king of the Scythians, whoſe name was Indathyrſus, with this meſſage in his name: "Prince of the Scythians, wherefore doſt thou continually fly before me? Why doſt thou not ſtop ſomewhere or other, either to give me battle, if thou believeſt thyſelf able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkeſt thyſelf too weak, to acknowledge thy maſter, by preſenting him with earth and water?" The Scythians were a high-ſpirited people, extremely jealous of their liberty, and profeſſed enemies to all ſlavery. Indathyrſus ſent Darius the following anſwer: "If I fly before thee, prince of the Perſians, it is not becauſe I fear thee: What I do now, is no more than what I am uſed to do in the time of peace. We Scythians have neither cities nor lands to defend: if thou haſt a mind to force us to come to an engagement, come and attack the tombs of our fathers, and thou ſhalt find what manner of men we are. As to the title of maſter, which thou aſſumeſt, keep it for other nations than the Scythians. For my part, I acknowledge no other maſter than the great Jupiter, one of my own anceſtors, and the goddeſs Veſta."

[l] The farther Darius advanced into the country, the greater hardſhips his army was expoſed to. Juſt when it was reduced to the laſt extremity, there came a herald to Darius from the Scythian prince, with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, for a preſent. The king deſired to know the meaning of thoſe gifts. The meſſenger anſwered that his orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the Perſian king to find out the meaning. Darius concluded at firſt, that the Scythians thereby conſented to deliver up the earth and water to him, which were repreſented by a mouſe and a frog; as alſo their

[k] Herod. l. iv. c. 126, 127. [l] Ibid. c. 128, 130.

cavalry, whoſe ſwiftneſs was repreſented by the bird; together with their own perſons and arms, ſignified by the arrows. But Gobrias, one of the ſeven lords that had depoſed the Magian impoſtor, expounded the enigma in the following manner: "Know," ſays he to the Perſians, "that unleſs you can fly away in the air like birds, or hide yourſelves in the earth like mice, or ſwim in the water like frogs, you ſhall in no wiſe be able to avoid the arrows of the Scythians."

[m] And indeed the whole Perſian army marching in a vaſt, uncultivated, and barren country, in which there was no water, it was reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin: nor was Darius himſelf exempt from the common danger. He owed his preſervation to a camel, which was laden with water, and followed him with great difficulty through that wild and deſert country. The king afterwards did not forget his benefactor: to reward him for the ſervice he had done him, and the fatigues he had undergone, on his return into Aſia, he ſettled a certain diſtrict of his own upon him for his peculiar uſe and ſubſiſtence, for which reaſon the place was called Gangamele, that is, in the Perſian tongue, *the camel's habitation*. It was near this ſame place that Darius Codomannus received a ſecond overthrow by Alexander the Great.

[n] Darius deliberated no longer, finding himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of quitting his imprudent enterpriſe. He began then to think in earneſt upon returning home; and ſaw but too plainly, that there was no time to be loſt. Therefore as ſoon as night came, the Perſians, to deceive the enemy, lighted a great number of fires, as uſual; and leaving the old men and the ſick behind them in the camp, together with all their aſſes, which made a ſufficient noiſe, they marched away as faſt as they could, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians did not perceive they were gone, till the next morning; whereupon they immediately ſent a conſiderable detachment as quick as poſſible to the Danube: this detachment being perfectly well acquainted with the roads of the country, arrived at the bridge a great while before the Perſians. The Scythians had ſent expreſſes before

[m] Strabo, l. vii. p. 305, & l. xvi. p. 737. [n] Herod. l. iv. c. 134, 140.

hand to perſuade the Ionians to break the bridge, and to return to their own country; and the latter had promiſed to do it, but without deſign to execute their promiſe. The Scythians now preſſed them to it more earneſtly, and repreſented to them that the time preſcribed by Darius for ſtaying there was elapſed; that they were at liberty to return home without either violating their word or their duty; that they now had it in their power to throw off for ever the yoke of their ſubjection, and make themſelves a happy and free people; and that the Scythians would render Darius incapable of forming any more enterpriſes againſt any of his neighbours.

The Ionians entered into conſultation upon the affair. Miltiades, an Athenian, who was prince, or, as the Greeks call it, tyrant of the Cherſoneſus of Thrace, at the mouth of the Helleſpont, was one of thoſe that had accompanied Darius, and furniſhed him with ſhips for his enterpriſe. Having* the public intereſt more at heart than his private advantage, he was of opinion, that they ſhould comply with the requeſt of the Scythians, and embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering the liberty of Ionia: all the other commanders gave into his ſentiments except Hyſtiæus, the tyrant of Miletos. When it came to his turn to ſpeak, he repreſented to the Ionian generals, that their fortune was linked with that of Darius; that it was under that prince's protection each of them was maſter in his own city; and if the power of the Perſians ſhould ſink, or decline, the cities of Ionia would not fail to depoſe their tyrants, and recover their freedom. All the other chiefs gave into his opinion; and as is uſual in moſt caſes, the conſideration of private intereſt prevailed over the public good. The reſolution they came to was to wait for Darius: but, in order to deceive the Scythians, and hinder them from undertaking any thing, they declared to them, they had reſolved to retire, purſuant to their requeſt; and, the better to carry on the fraud, they actually began to break one end of the bridge, exhorting the Scythians at the ſame time to do their part, to return ſpeedily back to meet the common enemy, to attack and defeat them. The Scythians being too credulous, retired, and were deceived a ſecond time.

* *Amicior omnium libertati quam ſuæ dominationi fuit.* CORN. NEP.

[o] They miſſed Darius, who had taken a different route from that in which they expected to come up with him. He arrived by night at the bridge over the Danube, and finding it broken down, he no longer doubted but the Ionians were gone, and that conſequently he ſhould be ruined. He made his people call out with a loud voice for Hyſtiæus, the Miletian, who at laſt anſwered, and put the king out of his anxiety. They entirely repaired the bridge; ſo that Darius repaſſed the Danube, and came back into Thrace. There he left Megabyſus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conqueſt of that country, and entirely reduce it to his obedience. After which he repaſſed the Boſphorus with the reſt of his troops, and went to Sardis, where he ſpent the winter and the greateſt part of the year following, in order to refreſh his army, which had ſuffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

[p] Megabyſus continued ſome time in Thrace, whoſe inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they had the diſcretion to unite their forces, and to chooſe one chief commander. Some of them had very particular cuſtoms. In one of their diſtricts, when a child came into the world, all the relations expreſſed great ſorrow and affliction, bitterly weeping at the proſpect of miſery the new-born infant had to experience. As, on the other hand, when any perſon died, all their kindred rejoiced, becauſe they looked upon the deceaſed perſon, as happy only from that moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the troubles and calamities of this life. In another diſtrict, where polygamy was in faſhion, when a huſband died, it was a great diſpute among his wives, which of them was the beſt beloved. She, in whoſe favour the conteſt was decided, had the privilege of being ſacrificed by her neareſt relation upon the tomb of her huſband, and of being buried with him; whilſt all the other wives envied her happineſs, and thought themſelves in ſome ſort diſhonoured.

[q] Darius, on his return to Sardis after this unhappy expedition againſt the Scythians, having learned for certain,

[o] Herod. l. iv. c. 141, 144. [p] Herod. l. v. c. 1.

[q] Herod. l. v. c. 21 & 23.

that he owed both his own ſafety and that of his whole army to Hyſtiæus, who had perſuaded the Ionians not to deſtroy the bridge on the Danube, ſent for that prince to his court, and deſired him freely to aſk any favour, in recompence of his ſervice. Hyſtiæus hereupon deſired the king to give him Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, together with the liberty of building a city there. His requeſt was readily granted; whereupon he returned to Miletos, where he cauſed a fleet of ſhips to be equipped, and then ſet out for Thrace. Having taken poſſeſſion of the territory granted him, he immediately ſet about the execution of his project in building a city.

[r] Megabyſus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, immediately perceived how prejudicial that undertaking would be to the king's affairs in thoſe quarters. He conſidered, that this new city ſtood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it abounded in timber fit for building of ſhips; that it was inhabited by different nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, that might furniſh great numbers of men for land and ſea-ſervice; that, if once thoſe people were under the management of a prince ſo ſkilful and enterpriſing as Hyſtiæus, they might become ſo powerful both by ſea and land, that it would be no longer poſſible for the king to keep them in ſubjection; eſpecially conſidering that they had a great many gold and ſilver mines in that country, which would enable them to carry on any projects or enterpriſes. At his return to Sardis, he repreſented all theſe things to the king, who was convinced by his reaſons, and therefore ſent for Hyſtiæus to come to him at Sardis, pretending to have ſome great deſigns in view, wherein he wanted the aſſiſtance of his counſel. When he had brought him to his court by this means, he carried him to Suſa, making him believe, that he ſet an extraordinary value upon a friend of his fidelity and underſtanding; two qualifications that rendered him ſo very dear to him, and of which he had given ſuch memorable proofs in the Scythian expedition; and giving him to underſtand at the ſame time, that he ſhould be able to find ſomething for him in Perſia, which would make him ample amends for all that he could

[r] Ibid. c. 23 & 25.

leave behind him. Hyſtiæus, pleaſed with ſo honourable a diſtinction, and finding himſelf likewiſe under a neceſſity of complying, accompanied Darius to Suſa, and left Ariſtagoras to govern at Miletos in his room.

[s] Whilſt Megabyſus was ſtill in Thrace, he ſent ſeveral Perſian noblemen to Amintas, king of Macedonia, to require him to give earth and water to Darius his maſter: this was the uſual form of one prince's ſubmitting to another: Amintas readily complied with that requeſt, and paid all imaginable honours to the envoys. At an entertainment which he made for them, they deſired at the latter end of it, that the ladies might be brought in, which was a thing contrary to the cuſtom of the country: however, the king would not venture to refuſe them. The Perſian noblemen, being heated with wine, and thinking they might uſe the ſame freedom as in their own country, did not obſerve a due decorum towards thoſe princeſſes. The king's ſon, whoſe name was Alexander, could not ſee his mother and ſiſters treated in ſuch a manner, without great reſentment and indignation. Wherefore, upon ſome pretence or other, he contrived to ſend the ladies out of the room, as if they were to return again preſently; and had the precaution to get the king his father, alſo out of the company. In this interval he cauſed ſome young men to be dreſſed like women, and to be armed with poignards under their garments. Theſe pretended ladies came into the room inſtead of the others; and when the Perſians began to treat them, as they had before treated the princeſſes, they drew out their poignards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the noblemen, but every one of their attendants. The news of this ſlaughter ſoon reached Suſa; and the king appointed commiſſioners to take cognizance of the matter: but Alexander, by the power of bribes and preſents, ſtifled the affair ſo that nothing came of it.

[t] The Scythians, to be revenged of Darius for invading their country, paſſed the Danube, and ravaged all that part of Thrace, that had ſubmitted to the Perſians, as far as the Helleſpont. Miltiades, to avoid their fury, abandoned the Cherſoneſus: but after the enemy retired, he returned thi-

[s] Herod. l. v. c. 17, & 21. [t] Herod. l. vi. c. 40.

ther again, and was reſtored to the ſame power he had before over the inhabitants of the country.

SECT. V. *Darius's Conqueſt of India.*

ABOUT the ſame time, which was in the 13th year of Darius's reign, this prince having an ambition to extend his dominion eaſtward, firſt reſolved, in order to facilitate his conqueſts, to get a proper knowledge of the country. A. M. 3496. Ant. J. C. 508. [u] To this end he cauſed a fleet to be built and fitted out at Caſpatyra, a city upon the Indus, and did the ſame at ſeveral other places on the ſame river, as far as the frontiers of *Scythia. The command of this fleet was given to †Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a town of Caria, who was perfectly well verſed in maritime affairs. His orders were to ſail down that river, and get all the knowledge he poſſibly could of the country on both ſides, quite down to the mouth of the river; to paſs from thence into the ſouthern ocean, and to ſteer his courſe afterwards to the weſt, and ſo return back that way to Perſia. Scylax, having exactly obſerved his inſtructions, and ſailed quite down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the ſtraits of Babelmandel; and after a voyage of thirty months from the time of his ſetting out from Caſpatyra, he arrived in Egypt at the ſame port [x], from whence Nechao, king of Egypt, had formerly ſent the Phœnicians, who were in his ſervice, with orders to ſail round the coaſts of Africa. Very probably, this was the ſame port, where now ſtands the town of Suez, at the farther end of the Red Sea. From thence Scylax returned to Suſa, where he gave Darius an account of all his diſcoveries. Darius afterwards entered India with an army, and ſubjected all that vaſt country. The reader will naturally expect to be informed of the particulars of ſo important a war. But [y] Herodotus ſays not one word about it: he

[u] Herod. l. iv. c. 44. [x] Herod. l. iv. c. 42. [y] Lib. iii. c. 94.

* He means the Aſiatic Scythia.

† There is a treatiſe of geography entitled περίπλους, and compoſed by one Scylax of Caryandia, who is thought to be the ſame perſon ſpoken of in this place. But that opinion is attended with ſome difficulties, which have given occaſion to many learned diſſertations.

only tells us, that India made the twentieth province, or government, of the Perſian empire, and that the annual revenue of it was worth three hundred and ſixty talents of gold to Darius, which amount to near eleven millions of livres French money, ſomething leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

SECT. VI. *The Revolt of the Ionians.*

[z] DARIUS, after his return to Suſa, from his Scythian expedition, had given his brother Artaphernes the government of Sardis, and made Otanes commander in Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the ſea-coaſt, in the room of Megabyſus. A. M. 3500. Ant. J. C. 504.

[a] From a ſmall ſpark, kindled by ſedition at Naxus, a great flame aroſe, which gave occaſion to a conſiderable war. Naxus was the moſt important iſland of the Cyclades in the Egæan Sea, now called the Archipelago. In this ſedition, the principal inhabitants having been overpowered by the populace, who were the greater number, many of the richeſt families were baniſhed out of the iſland. Hereupon they fled to Miletos, and addreſſed themſelves to Ariſtagoras, imploring him to reinſtate them in their own city. He was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hyſtiæus, to whom he was both nephew and ſon-in-law, and whom Darius had carried along with him to Suſa. Ariſtagoras promiſed to give theſe exiles the aſſiſtance they deſired.

But not being powerful enough himſelf to execute what he had promiſed, he went to Sardis and communicated the affair to Artaphernes. He repreſented to him, that this was a very favourable opportunity for reducing Naxus under the power of Darius; that if he were once maſter of that iſland, all the reſt of the Cyclades would fall of themſelves into his hands, one after another; that in conſequence the iſle of Eubœa, (now Negropont) which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near it, would be eaſily conquered, which would give the king a free paſſage into Greece, and the means of ſubjecting all that country; and, in ſhort, that a

[z] Herod. l. v. c. 25. [a] Ibid. c. 28 & 34.

hundred ſhips would be ſufficient for the effectual execution of this enterpriſe. Artaphernes was ſo pleaſed with the project, that inſtead of one hundred veſſels, which Ariſtagoras required, he promiſed him two hundred, in caſe he obtained the king's conſent to the expedition.

The king, charmed with the mighty hopes with which he was flattered, very readily approved the enterpriſe, though at the bottom it was founded only in injuſtice, and a boundleſs ambition; as alſo upon perfidiouſneſs on the part of Ariſtagoras and Artaphernes. No conſideration gave him a moment's pauſe. The moſt injurious project is formed and accepted without the leaſt reluctance or ſcruple: motives of advantage and convenience ſolely determine. The iſle lies convenient for the Perſians: this is conceived a ſufficient title, and a warrantable ground to reduce it by force of arms. And, indeed, moſt of the other expeditions of this prince had no better principle.

As ſoon as Artaphernes had obtained the king's conſent to this project, he made the neceſſary preparations for executing it. The better to conceal his deſign, and to ſurpriſe the people of Naxus, he ſpread a report that this fleet was going towards the Helleſpont; and the ſpring following he ſent the number of ſhips he had promiſed to Miletos, under the command of Megabates, a Perſian nobleman of the royal family of Archæmenes. But being directed in his commiſſion to obey the orders of Ariſtagoras, that haughty Perſian could not bear to be under the command of an Ionian, eſpecially one who treated him in a lofty and imperious manner. This pique occaſioned a breach between the two generals, which roſe ſo high, that Megabates, to be revenged of Ariſtagoras, gave the Naxians ſecret intelligence of the deſign formed againſt them. Upon which intelligence they made ſuch preparations for their defence, that the Perſians, after having ſpent four months in beſieging the capital of the iſland, and conſumed all their proviſions, were obliged to retire.

[b] This project having thus miſcarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Ariſtagoras, and entirely ruined his credit with Artaphernes. The Ionian foreſaw, that this accident

[b] Herod. l. v. c. 35, 36.

would be attended, not only with the loſs of his government, but with his utter ruin. The deſperate ſituation he was in made him think of revolting from the king as the only expedient, whereby he could poſſibly ſave himſelf. No ſooner had he formed this deſign, but a meſſenger came to him from Hyſtiæus, who gave him the ſame counſel. Hyſtiæus, who had now been ſome years at the Perſian court, being diſguſted with the manners of that nation, and having an ardent deſire to return to his own country, thought this the moſt likely means of bringing it about, and therefore gave Ariſtagoras that counſel. He flattered himſelf, that in caſe any troubles aroſe in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to ſend him thither to appeaſe them: and in effect the thing happened according to his opinion. As ſoon as Ariſtagoras found his deſign ſeconded by the orders of Hyſtiæus, he imparted them to the principal perſons of Ionia, whom he found extremely well diſpoſed to enter into his views. He therefore deliberated no longer, but being determined to revolt, applied himſelf wholly in making preparations for it.

The people of Tyre, having been reduced to ſlavery, when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, had groaned under that oppreſſion for the ſpace of ſeventy years. But after the expiration of that term, they were reſtored according to Iſaiah's prophecy*, to the poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own; which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. It ſeems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in conſideration of the ſervices he expected to receive from that city, (which was ſo powerful by ſea) in reducing the Ionians to their ancient ſubjection. This was in the 19th year of Darius's reign. A. M. 3502. Ant. J. C. 502.

[d] The next year, Ariſtagoras, in order to engage the Ionians to adhere the more cloſely to him, reinſtated them in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletos, where he diveſted himſelf of his power, and reſigned it into the hands of the people. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his cre-

[d] Her. l. v. c. 37, 38.

* And it ſhall come to paſs after the end of ſeventy years, that the Lord will viſit Tyre, and ſhe ſhall turn to her hire. *Iſa.* xxiii. 15.

dit, and perhaps by the fear that they would be forced to it whether they would or no, he prevailed upon all the other tyrants to do the ſame in every city. They complied the more readily with it, as the Perſian power, ſince the check it received in Scythia, was the leſs able to protect them againſt the Ionians, who were naturally fond of liberty and a ſtate of independency, and profeſſed enemies to all tyranny. Having united them all in this manner, and in one common league, of which he himſelf was declared the head, he ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion againſt the king, and made great preparations by ſea and land for ſupporting a war againſt him.

[c] To enable himſelf to carry on the war with more vigour, Ariſtagoras went in the beginning of the year following to Lacedæmon, in order to bring that city into his intereſts, and engage it to furniſh him with ſuccours. Cleomenes was at this time king of Sparta. He was the ſon of Anaxandrides by a ſecond wife, whom the Ephori had obliged him to marry becauſe he had no iſſue by the firſt. He had by her three ſons beſides Cleomenes, namely, Doriæus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, the two laſt of which aſcended the throne of Lacedæmon in their turns. Ariſtagoras then addreſſed himſelf to Cleomenes, and the time and place for an interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and repreſented to him, that the Ionians and Lace- dæmonians were countrymen; that Sparta being the moſt powerful city of Greece, it would be for her honour to concur with him in the deſign he had formed of reſtoring the Ionians to their liberty; that the Perſians, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but exceeding rich and wealthy, and conſequently would become an eaſy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that conſidering the preſent ſpirit and diſpoſition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Suſa, the metropolis of the Perſian empire, and the place of the king's reſidence: he ſhowed him at the ſame time, a deſcription of all the nations and towns through which they were to paſs, engraven upon a little plate of braſs which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes deſired three days time to con-

[c] Ibid. c. 38, 41, 49, & 51.

ſider of his propoſals. The term being expired, he aſked the Ionian how far it was from the Ionian Sea to Suſa, and how much time it required to go from one place to the other. Ariſtagoras, without conſidering the effect his anſwer was likely to have with Cleomenes, told him, that from Ionia to Suſa was about three months * journey. Cleomenes was ſo amazed at this propoſal, that he immediately ordered him to depart from Sparta before ſunſet. Ariſtagoras, nevertheleſs followed him home to his houſe, and endeavoured to win him by arguments of another ſort, that is by preſents. The firſt ſum he offered him was only ten talents, which were equivalent to thirty thouſand livres French money: that being refuſed, he ſtill roſe in his offers, till at laſt he propoſed to give him fifteen talents. Gorgo, a daughter of Cleomenes, about eight or nine years of age, whom her father had not ordered to quit the room, as apprehending nothing from ſo young a child, hearing the propoſals that were made to her father, cried out: "Fly, father, fly, this ſtranger will corrupt you." Cleomenes laughed, but yet obſerved the child's admonition, and actually retired: Ariſtagoras left Sparta.

[f] From hence he proceeded to Athens, where he found a more favourable reception. He had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the Athenians were extremely well diſpoſed to hearken to any propoſals that could be made to them againſt the Perſians, with whom they were highly offended on the following occaſion. Hippias, the † ſon of Piſiſtratus, tyrant of Athens, about ten years before the time we are ſpeaking of, having been baniſhed, after having tried in vain abundance of methods for his re-eſtabliſhment, at laſt went to Sardis, and made his application to Artaphernes. He inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the good opinion of that

[f] Herod. l. v. c. 55, & 96, 97.

* According to Herodotus's computation, who reckons the paraſanga, a Perſian meaſure, to contain 30 ſtadia, it is from Sardis to Suſa 450 paraſangas, or 13,500 ſtadia, which make 675 of our leagues; (for we generally reckon 20 ſtadia to one of our common leagues.) So that by travelling 150 ſtadia per day, which make ſeven leagues and a half, our meaſure, it is ninety days journey from Sardis to Suſa. If they ſet out from Epheſus, it would require about four days more; for Epheſus is 540 ſtadia from Sardis.

† This fact has been before treated at large.

governor, that he gave a favourable ear to all he ſaid, to the diſadvantage of the Athenians, and became extremely prejudiced againſt them. The Athenians having intelligence of this, ſent an ambaſſador to Sardis, and deſired of Artaphernes, not to give ear to what any of their outlaws ſhould inſinuate to their diſadvantage. The anſwer of Artaphernes to this meſſage was, that if they deſired to live in peace, they muſt recal Hippias. When this haughty anſwer was brought back to the Athenians, the whole city were violently enraged againſt the Perſians. Ariſtagoras coming thither juſt at this juncture, eaſily obtained all he deſired. Herodotus remarks on this occaſion, how much eaſier it is to impoſe upon a multitude than upon a ſingle perſon: and ſo Ariſtagoras found it, for he prevailed with thirty thouſand Athenians to come to a reſolution, into which he could not perſuade Cleomenes alone. They engaged immediately to furniſh twenty ſhips to aſſiſt him in his deſigns: and it may be truly ſaid, that this little fleet was the ſource of all the calamities in which both the Perſians and Grecians were afterwards involved.

[g] In the third year of this war, the Ionians, having collected all their forces together, with the twenty veſſels furniſhed by the city of Athens, and five more from Eretria, in the iſland of Eubœa, ſet ſail for Epheſus, where leaving their ſhips, they marched by land to the city of Sardis, and finding the place in a defenceleſs condition, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it; but the citadel, into which Artaphernes retired, they were not able to force. As moſt of the houſes of this city were built with reeds, and conſequently were very combuſtible, an Ionian ſoldier ſet fire to one houſe, the flames of which ſpreading and communicating itſelf to the reſt, reduced the whole city to aſhes. Upon this accident the Perſians and Lydians, aſſembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians judged it was time for them to think of retreating; and accordingly they marched back with all poſſible diligence, in order to reimbark at Epheſus: but the Perſians arriving there almoſt as ſoon as they, attacked them vigorouſly, and deſtroyed a great number of their men. The Athenians, after the return of

[g] Herod. l. v. c. 99, 103.

their ſhips, would never engage any more in this war, notwithſtanding all the inſtances and ſolicitations of Ariſtagoras.

[h] Darius being informed of the burning of Sardis, and of the part the Athenians took in that affair, reſolved from that very time to make war upon Greece: and that he might never forget his reſolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry out to him with a loud voice every night, when he was at ſupper: "Sir, remember the Athenians." In the burning of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddeſs of that country, was conſumed with the reſt of the city. This accident ſerved afterwards as a pretence to the Perſians to burn all the temples they found in Greece: to which they were likewiſe induced by a motive of religion, which I have explained before.

[i] As Ariſtagoras, the head and manager of this revolt, was Hyſtiæus's lieutenant at Miletos, Darius ſuſpected that the latter might probably be the contriver of the whole conſpiracy: for which reaſon he entered into a free conference with him upon the ſubject, and acquainted him with his thoughts, and the juſt grounds he had for his ſuſpicions. Hyſtiæus, who was a crafty courtier, and an expert maſter in the art of diſſembling, appeared extremely ſurpriſed and afflicted, and ſpeaking in a tone that at once expreſſed both ſorrow and indignation, thus endeavoured to purge himſelf to the king: "Is it poſſible then for your majeſty to have entertained ſo injurious a ſuſpicion of the moſt faithful and moſt affectionate of your ſervants? I concerned in a rebellion againſt you? Alas! What is there in the world that could tempt me to it? Do I want any thing here? Am I not already raiſed to one of the higheſt ſtations in your court? And beſides the honour I have of aſſiſting at your councils, do I not daily receive new proofs of your bounty, by the numberleſs favours you heap upon me?" After this he inſinuated, that the revolt in Ionia proceeded from his abſence and diſtance from the country; that they had waited for that opportunity to rebel; that if he had ſtayed at Miletos the conſpiracy would never have been formed; that the ſureſt way to reſtore the king's affairs in that pro-

[h] Herod. c. 105, 107. [i] Ibid. l. v. c. 105, & 107.

vince, would be to ſend him thither; that he promiſed him, on the forfeiture of his head, to deliver Ariſtagoras into his hands; and engaged, beſides all this, to make the large iſland of Sardinia * tributary to him. The beſt princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a ſubject into their confidence, it is with difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they eaſily undeceive themſelves. Darius, impoſed upon by the air of ſincerity with which Hyſtiæus ſpoke on this occaſion, believed him on his own word, and gave him leave to return to Ionia, on condition he came back to the Perſian court as ſoon as he had executed what he promiſed.

[k] The revolters in the mean time, though deſerted by the Athenians, and notwithſtanding the conſiderable check they had received in Ionia, did not looſe courage, but ſtill puſhed on their point with reſolution. Their fleet ſet ſail towards the Helleſpont, and the Propontis, and reduced Byzantium, with the major part of the other Grecian cities in that quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war, as alſo the people of Cyprus. The Perſian generals, having divided their forces among themſelves, marched three different ways againſt the rebels, and defeated them in ſeveral encounters, in one of which Ariſtagoras was ſlain.

[l] When Hyſtiæus came to Sardis, his intriguing temper formed a plot againſt the government, into which he drew a great number of Perſians. But, perceiving by ſome diſcourſe he had with Artaphernes, that the part he had had in the revolt of Ionia was not unknown to that governor, he thought it not ſafe for him to ſtay any longer at Sardis, and retired ſecretly the night following to the iſle of Chios; from thence he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Sardis, with letters for ſuch of the Perſians as he had gained to his party. This meſſenger betrayed him, and delivered his letters to Artaphernes, by which means the plot was diſcovered, all his accomplices put to death, and his project utterly defeated.

[k] Herod. l. v. c. 103, 104, 108, & 122. [l] Herod. l. vi. c. 1—5.

* This iſland is very remote from Ionia, and could have no relation to it. I am therefore apt to believe, it muſt be an error that has crept into the text of Herodotus.

But ſtill imagining, that he could bring about ſome enterpriſe of importance, if he were once at the head of the Ionian league, he made ſeveral attempts to get into Miletos, and to be admitted into the confederacy by the citizens: but none of his endeavours ſucceeded, and he was obliged to return to Chios.

[m] There being aſked why he had ſo ſtrongly urged Ariſtagoras to revolt, and by that means involved Ionia in ſuch calamities, he made anſwer, that it was becauſe the king had reſolved to tranſport the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to plant the Phœnicians in Ionia. But all this was a mere ſtory and fiction of his own inventing, Darius having never conceived any ſuch deſign. The artifice however ſerved his purpoſe extremely well, not only for juſtifying him to the Ionians, but alſo for engaging them to proſecute the war with vigour. For, being alarmed at the thoughts of this tranſmigration, they came to a firm reſolution to defend themſelves againſt the Perſians to the laſt extremity.

[n] Artaphernes and Otanes, with the reſt of the Perſian generals, finding that Miletos was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, reſolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that if they could carry that city, all the reſt would ſubmit of courſe. The Ionians, having intelligence of their deſign, determined in a general aſſembly to ſend no army into the field, but to fortify Miletos, and to furniſh it as well as poſſible with proviſions, and all things neceſſary for enduring a ſiege: and to unite all their forces to engage the Perſians at ſea, their dexterity in maritime affairs inducing them to believe that they ſhould have the advantage in a naval battle. The place of their rendezvous was Lada, a ſmall iſle over againſt Miletos, where they aſſembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three veſſels. At the ſight of this fleet, the Perſians, though ſtronger by one half with reſpect to the number of their ſhips, were afraid to hazard a battle, till by their emiſſaries they had ſecretly debauched the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert: ſo that when the two fleets came to blows, the ſhips of Samos, of Leſbos, and ſeveral other places ſailed off, and returned to their own country, and the remaining fleet of

[m] Herod. c. 3. [n] Ibid. l. vi. c. 6, 20, 31, & 33.

the confederates did not conſiſt of above a hundred veſſels, which were all quickly overpowered by numbers, and almoſt entirely deſtroyed. After this, the city of Miletos was beſieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who utterly deſtroyed it. This happened ſix years after Ariſtagoras's revolt. All the other cities, as well on the continent as on the ſea-coaſt and in the iſles, returned to their duty ſoon after, either voluntarily or by force. Thoſe perſons that ſtood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handſomeſt of the young men were choſen to ſerve in the king's palace; and the young women were all ſent into Perſia; the cities and temples were reduced to aſhes. Theſe were the effects of the revolt, into which the people were drawn by the ambitious views of Ariſtagoras and Hyſtiæus.

[o] The laſt of theſe two had his ſhare in the general calamity: for that ſame year he was taken by the Perſians, and carried to Sardis, where Artaphernes cauſed him to be immediately hanged, without conſulting Darius, leſt that prince's affection for Hyſtiæus ſhould incline him to pardon him, and by that means a dangerous enemy ſhould be left alive, who might create the Perſians new troubles. It appeared by the ſequel, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded: for when Hyſtiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expreſſed great diſſatisfaction at the authors of his death, and cauſed the head to be honourably interred, as being the remains of a perſon to whom he had infinite obligations, the remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his mind, ever to be effaced by the greatneſs of any crimes he had afterwards committed. Hyſtiæus was one of thoſe reſtleſs, bold, and enterpriſing ſpirits, in whom many good qualities are joined with ſtill greater vices; with whom all means are lawful and good, that ſeem to promote the end they have in view; who look upon juſtice, probity, and ſincerity, as mere empty names; who make no ſcruple to employ lying or fraud, treachery, or even perjury, when it is to ſerve their turn; and who reckon it as nothing to ruin nations, or even their own country, if neceſſary to their own elevation. His end was worthy his

[o] Herod. l. vi. c. 29, & 30.

ſentiments and what is common enough to theſe irreligious politicians, who ſacrifice every thing to their ambition, and acknowledge no other rule of their actions, and hardly any other God, but their intereſt and fortune.

SECT. VII. *The Expedition of Darius's Armies againſt Greece.*

[p] DARIUS, in the twenty-eight year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, ſent Mardonius, the ſon of Gobryas, a young lord of an illuſtrious Perſian family, who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Aſia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis, upon the Athenians and Eretrians. The king did not ſhow much wiſdom in this choice, by which he preferred a young man, becauſe he was a favourite, to all his oldeſt and moſt experienced generals; eſpecially as it was in ſo difficult a war, the ſucceſs of which he had very much at heart, and wherein the glory of his reign was infinitely concerned. His being ſon-in-law to the king was a quality indeed that might augment his credit, but added nothing to his real merit, or his capacity as a general. A. M. 3510. Ant. J. C. 494.

Upon his arrival in Macedonia, into which he had marched with his land forces after having paſſed through Thrace, the whole country, terrified by his power, ſubmitted. But his fleet, attempting to double Mount Athos (now called Capo Santo) in order to gain the coaſts of Macedonia, was attacked with ſo violent a ſtorm of wind, that upwards of three hundred ſhips, with above twenty thouſand men, periſhed in the ſea. His land army met at the ſame time with no leſs fatal a blow. For being encamped in a place of no ſecurity, the Thracians attacked the Perſian camp by night, made a great ſlaughter of the men, and wounded Mardonius himſelf. All this ill ſucceſs obliged him ſhortly after to return into Aſia, with grief and confuſion at his having miſcarried both by ſea and land in this expedition.

[p] Herod. l. vi. c. 43, 45.

Darius, perceiving, too late, that Mardonius's youth and inexperience had occaſioned the defeat of his troops, recalled him and put two other generals in his place, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, ſon of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. The king's thoughts were earneſtly bent upon putting in execution the great deſign he had long had in his mind, which was, to attack Greece with all his forces, and particularly to take a ſignal vengeance of the people of Athens and Eretria, whoſe enterpriſe againſt Sardis was perpetually in his thoughts.

1. *The State of Athens. The Characters of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, and Ariſtides.*

Before we enter upon this war, it will be proper to refreſh our memories with a view of the ſtate of Athens at this time, which alone ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the Perſians at Marathon; as alſo to form ſome idea beforehand of the great men who ſhared in that celebrated victory.

Athens, juſt delivered from that yoke of ſervitude, which ſhe had been forced to bear for above thirty years under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus and his children, now peaceably enjoyed the advantages of liberty, the ſweetneſs and value of which were only heightened and improved by that ſhort privation. Lacedæmon, which was at this time the miſtreſs of Greece, and had contributed at firſt to this happy change in Athens, ſeemed afterwards to repent of her good offices: and growing jealous of the tranquillity ſhe herſelf had procured for her neighbours, ſhe attempted to diſturb it, by endeavouring to reinſtate Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus, in the government of Athens. But all her attempts were fruitleſs, and ſerved only to manifeſt her ill-will, and her grief, to ſee Athens determined to maintain its independence even of Sparta itſelf. Hippias hereupon had recourſe to the Perſians. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, ſent the Athenians word, as we have already mentioned, that they muſt re-eſtabliſh Hippias in his authority, unleſs they choſe rather to draw the whole power of Darius upon them. This ſecond attempt ſucceeded no better than the firſt, Hippias was obliged to wait for a more favourable juncture.

We ſhall ſee preſently, that he ſerved as a conductor or guide to the Perſian generals, ſent by Darius againſt Greece.

Athens, from the recovery of her liberty, was quite another city than under her tyrants, and diſplayed a very different kind of ſpirit. [q] Among the citizens, Miltiades diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in the war with the Perſians, which we are going to relate. He was the ſon of Cimon, an illuſtrious Athenian. This Cimon had a half brother by the mother's ſide, whoſe name was likewiſe Miltiades, of a very ancient and noble family in Egina, who had lately been received into the number of the Athenian citizens. He was a perſon of great credit even in the time of Piſiſtratus: but, being unwilling to bear the yoke of a deſpotic government, he joyfully embraced the offer made him, of going to ſettle with a colony in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, whither he was invited by the Dolonci, the inhabitants of that country, to be their king, or according to the language of thoſe times, their tyrant. He dying without children, left the ſovereignty to Steſagoras, who was his nephew, and eldeſt ſon of his brother Cimon; and Steſagoras dying alſo without iſſue, the ſons of Piſiſtratus, who then ruled the city of Athens, ſent his brother Miltiades, the perſon we are now ſpeaking of into that country to be his ſucceſſor. He arrived there, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government in the ſame year Darius undertook his expedition againſt the Scythians. He attended that prince with ſome ſhips as far as the Danube; and was the perſon who adviſed the Ionians to deſtroy the bridge, and return home without waiting for Darius. During his reſidence in the Cherſoneſus he married * Hegeſipyla, daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous Athenian general, of whom a great deal will be ſaid in the ſequel. Miltiades, having for ſeveral reaſons abdicated his government in Thrace, embarked and took all that he had on board five ſhips, and ſet ſail for Athens. There he ſettled a ſecond time, and acquired great reputation.

[q] Herod. l. vi. c. 34, 41. Cor. Nep. in Mil. cap. i—iii.

* After the death of Miltiades, this princeſs had by a ſecond huſband a ſon, who was called Olorus, after the name of his grandfather, and who was the father of Thucydides the hiſtorian. Herod. Ibid.

[r] At the ſame time two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves at Athens, namely, Ariſtides and Themiſtocles. Plutarch obſerves, that the former of theſe two had endeavoured to form himſelf upon the model of Cliſthenes, one of the greateſt men of his time, and a zealous defender of liberty, who had very much contributed to the reſtoring it at Athens, by expelling the Piſiſtradites out of that city. It was an excellent cuſtom among the ancients, and which it were to be wiſhed might prevail amongſt us, that the young men, ambitious of public employment, particularly * attached themſelves to ſuch aged and experienced perſons as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt eminently therein; and who, both by their converſation and example, could teach them the art of acting themſelves, and governing others with wiſdom and diſcretion. Thus, ſays Plutarch, did Ariſtides attach himſelf to Cliſthenes, and Cimon to Ariſtides; and he mentions ſeveral others, among the reſt Polybius, whom we have mentioned ſo often, and who in his youth was the conſtant diſciple, and faithful imitator of the celebrated Philopœmen.

Themiſtocles and Ariſtides were of very different diſpoſitions; but they both rendered great ſervices to the commonwealth. Themiſtocles, who naturally inclined to popular government, omitted nothing, that could contribute to render him agreeable to the people, and to gain him friends; behaving himſelf with great affability and complaiſance to every body, always ready to do ſervice to the citizens, every one of whom he knew by name; nor was he very nice about the means he uſed to oblige them. [s] Somebody talking with him once on this ſubject, told him, he would make an excellent magiſtrate, if his behaviour towards the citizens was more equal, and if he was not biaſſed in favour of one more than another: "God forbid," replied Themiſtocles, "I ſhould ever ſit upon a tribunal, where my friends ſhould find no more credit or favour than ſtrangers." Cleon, who appeared ſome time after at Athens, obſerved a

[r] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 319, 320, & in Them. p. 112, 113. An ſeni ſit ger. Reſp. p. 790, 791.

[s] Cic. de Senect. Plut. An ſeni ſit ger. Reſp. p. 806, 807.

* *Diſcere à peritis, ſequi optimos.* TACIT. in Agric.

quite different conduct, but yet such as was not wholly exempt from blame. When he came into the administration of public affairs, he assembled all his friends, and declared to them, that from that moment he renounced their friendship, lest it should prove an obstacle to him in the discharge of his duty, and cause him to act with partiality and injustice. This was doing them very little honour, and judging hardly of their integrity. But, as Plutarch says, it was not his friends but his passions that he ought to have renounced.

Aristides had the discretion to observe a just medium between these two vicious extremes. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, whose great admirer he was, he in a manner struck out a new path of his own; not endeavouring to oblige his friends at the expence of justice, and yet always ready to do them service when consistent with it. He carefully avoided making use of his friends recommendations for obtaining employments, lest it should prove a dangerous obligation upon him, as well as a plausible pretext for them, to require the same favour from him on the like occasion. He used to say, that the true citizen, or the honest man, ought to make no other use of his credit and power, than upon all occasions to practise what was honest and just, and engage others to do the same.

Considering this contrariety of principles and humours among these great men, we are not to wonder, if during their administration, there was a continual opposition between them. Themistocles, who was bold and enterprising in almost all his attempts, was still sure almost always to find Aristides against him, who thought himself obliged to thwart the other's designs, even sometimes when they were just and beneficial to the public, lest he should get too great an ascendant and authority, which might become pernicious to the commonwealth. One day, having got the better of Themistocles, who had made some proposal really advantageous to the state, he could not contain himself, but cried out aloud as he went out of the assembly, "That the Athenians would never prosper, till they threw them both into the Barathrum:" the Barathrum was a pit, into which male-

factors condemned to die were thrown. [t] But notwithſtanding this mutual oppoſition, when the common intereſt was at ſtake, they were no longer enemies: and whenever they were to take the field, or engage in any expedition, they agreed together to lay aſide all differences on leaving the city, and to be at liberty to reſume them on their return, if they thought fit.

The predominant paſſion of Themiſtocles was ambition and the love of glory, which diſcovered itſelf from his childhood. After the battle of Marathon, which we ſhall ſpeak of preſently, when the people were every where extolling the valour and conduct of Miltiades, who had won it, Themiſtocles never appeared but in a very thoughtful and melancholy humour: he ſpent whole nights without ſleep, and was never ſeen at public feaſts and entertainments as uſual. When his friends, aſtoniſhed at this change, aſked him the reaſon of it, he made anſwer, "that Miltiades's trophies would not let him ſleep." Theſe were a kind of incentive, which never ceaſed to prompt and animate his ambition. From this time Themiſtocles addicted himſelf wholly to arms; and the love of martial glory wholly engroſſed him.

As for Ariſtides, the love of the public good was the great ſpring of all his actions. What he was moſt particularly admired for, was his conſtancy and ſteadineſs under the unforeſeen changes, to which thoſe, who have the adminiſtration of affairs, are expoſed; for he was neither elevated with the honour conferred upon him, nor caſt down at the contempt and diſappointments he ſometimes experienced. On all occaſions, he preſerved his uſual calmneſs and temper, being perſuaded that a man ought to give himſelf up entirely to his country, and to ſerve it with a perfect diſintereſtedneſs, as well with regard to glory as to riches. The general eſteem for the uprightneſs of his intentions, the purity of his zeal for the intereſts of the ſtate, and the ſincerity of his virtue appeared one day in the theatre, when one of Æſchylus's plays was acting. For when the actor had repeated that verſe, which deſcribes the character of Amphiarus, "He does not deſire to ſeem an honeſt and vir-

[t] Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 186.

tuous man, but really to be ſo," the whole audience caſt their eyes upon Ariſtides, and applied the ſenſe to him.

Another thing related of him, with relation to a public employment, is very remarkable. He was no ſooner made treaſurer-general of the republic, but he made it appear, that his predeceſſors in that office had cheated the ſtate of vaſt ſums of money; and among the reſt Themiſtocles in particular; for this great man, with all his merit, was not irreproachable on that head. For which reaſon, when Ariſtides came to paſs his accounts, Themiſtocles raiſed a mighty faction againſt him, accuſed him of having embezzled the public treaſure, and prevailed ſo far, as to have him condemned and fined. But the principal inhabitants, and the moſt virtuous part of the citizens, riſing up againſt ſo unjuſt a ſentence, not only the judgment was reverſed and the fine remitted, but he was elected treaſurer again for the year enſuing. He then ſeemed to repent of his former adminiſtration; and by ſhowing himſelf more tractable and indulgent towards others, he found out the ſecret of pleaſing all that plundered the commonwealth. For, as he neither reproved them, nor narrowly inſpected their accounts; all thoſe plunderers, grown fat with ſpoil and rapine, now extolled Ariſtides to the ſkies. It would have been eaſy for him, as we perceive, to have enriched himſelf in a poſt of that nature, which ſeems, as it were, to invite a man to it by the many favourable opportunities it lays in his way; eſpecially as he had to do with officers, who for their part were intent upon nothing but robbing the public, and would have been ready to conceal the frauds of the treaſurer their maſter, upon condition he did them the ſame favour.

Theſe very officers now made intereſt with the people to have him continued a third year in the ſame employment. But when the time of election was come, juſt as they were upon the point of electing Ariſtides unanimouſly, he roſe up, and warmly reproved the Athenian people; "What," ſays he, "when I managed your treaſure with all the fidelity and diligence an honeſt man is capable of, I met with the moſt cruel treatment, and the moſt mortifying returns; and now that I have abandoned it to the mercy of all theſe robbers of the public, I am an admirable man, and the beſt

of citizens! I cannot help declaring to you, that I am more aſhamed of the honour you do me this day, than I was of the condemnation you paſſed againſt me this time twelvemonth: and with grief I find, that it is more glorious with us to be complaiſant to knaves, than to ſave the treaſures of the republic." By this declaration he ſilenced the public plunderers, and gained the eſteem of all good men.

Such were the characters of theſe two illuſtrious Athenians, who began to diſtinguiſh their extenſive merit, when Darius turned his arms againſt Greece.

2. *Darius ſends Heralds into Greece, in order to ſound the People, and to require them to ſubmit.*

[u] Before this prince would directly engage in this enterpriſe, he judged it expedient, firſt of all, to ſound the Grecians, and to know in what manner the different ſtates ſtood affected towards him. With this view he ſent heralds into all parts of Greece, to require earth and water in his name: this was the form uſed by the Perſians when they exacted ſubmiſſion from thoſe they were for ſubjecting to them. On the arrival of theſe heralds, many of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Perſians, complied with their demands; as did alſo the inhabitants of Ægina, a little iſle, over againſt and not far from Athens. This proceeding of the people of Ægina was looked upon as a public treaſon. The Athenians repreſented the matter to the Spartans, who immediately ſent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of it. The people of Ægina refuſed to deliver them, under pretence that he came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himſelf ſuggeſted that excuſe. As ſoon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for that affront, he endeavoured to get him depoſed, as not being of the royal family; and ſucceeded in his attempt by the aſſiſtance of the prieſteſs of Delphos, whom he had ſuborned to give an anſwer favourable to his deſigns. Demaratus, not being able to endure ſo groſs an injury, baniſhed himſelf from his country, and retired to Darius, who received

[u] Herod. l. vi. c. 49, & 86.

him with open arms, and gave him a conſiderable ſettlement in Perſia. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Leutychides, who joined his colleague, and went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ten of the principal inhabitants, and committed them to the cuſtody of the Athenians, their declared enemies. Cleomenes dying not long after, and the fraud he had committed at Delphos being diſcovered, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to oblige the people of Athens to ſet thoſe priſoners at liberty, but they refuſed.

[x] The Perſian heralds, who went to Sparta and Athens, were not ſo favourably received, as thoſe that had been ſent to the other cities. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take there earth and water. I ſhould be leſs ſurpriſed at this unworthy treatment, if Athens alone had been concerned in it. It was a proceeding ſuitable enough to a popular government, raſh, impetuous, and violent; where reaſon is ſeldom heard, and every thing determined by paſſion. But I do not find any thing in this agreeable to the Spartan equity and gravity. They were at liberty to refuſe what was demanded; but to treat public officers in ſuch a manner, was an open violation of the law of nations. [y] If what the hiſtorians ſay on this head be true, the crime did not remain unpuniſhed. Talthybius, one of Agamemnon's heralds, was honoured at Sparta as a god, and had a temple there. He revenged the indignities done to the heralds of the king of Perſia, and made the Spartans feel the effects of his wrath, by bringing many terrible accidents upon them. In order to appeaſe him, and to expiate their offence, they ſent afterwards ſeveral of their chief citizens into Perſia, who voluntarily offered themſelves as victims for their country. They were delivered into the hand of Xerxes, who would not let them ſuffer, but ſent them back to their own country. As for the Athenians, Talthybius executed his vengeance on the family of Miltiades, who was principally concerned in the outrage committed upon Darius's heralds.

[x] Herod. l. viii. c. 133, 136.

[y] Ibid. 135, & 136. Paſ. in Lacon. p. 182, & 183.

3. *The Perſians defeated at Marathon by Miltiades.*

A. M. 3514. Ant. J. C. 490.

Darius immediately ſent away Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed generals in the room of Mardonius. Their inſtructions were, to give up Eretria and Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houſes and temples therein, to make all the inhabitants of both places priſoners, and to ſend them to Darius; for which purpoſe they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. [a] They ſet ſail with a fleet of five or ſix hundred ſhips, and an army of five hundred thouſand men. After having made themſelves maſters of the iſles in the Ægean ſea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their courſe towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took after a ſiege of ſeven days, by the treachery of ſome of the principal inhabitants: they reduced it entirely to aſhes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and ſent them to Perſia. [b] Darius, contrary to their expectation, treated them kindly, and gave them a village in the country of Ciſſia for their habitation, which was but a day's journey from Suſa, where [c] Apollonius Tyanæus found ſome of their deſcendants ſix hundred years afterwards.

[d] After this ſucceſs at Eretria, the Perſians advanced towards Attica. Hippias conducted them to Marathon, a little town by the ſea-ſide. They took care to acquaint the Athenians with the fate of Eretria; and to let them know, that not an inhabitant of that place had eſcaped their vengeance, in hopes that this news would induce them to ſurrender immediately. The Athenians had ſent to Lacedæmon, to deſire ſuccours againſt the common enemy, which the Spartans granted them inſtantly, and without deliberation; but which could not ſet out till ſome days after, on account of an ancient cuſtom, and ſuperſtitious maxim amongſt them, that did not admit them to begin a march before the full of the moon. Not one of their other allies prepared to ſuccour them, ſo great terror had the formidable

[a] Plut. in Moral. p. 829. [b] Herod. l. vi. c. 119. [c] Philoſtr. l. i. c. 17. [d] Herod. l. vi. c. 102. & 120. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. iv.—vi. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 321.

army of the Perſians ſpread on every ſide. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furniſhed them with a thouſand ſoldiers. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their ſlaves, which had never been done there before this occaſion.

The Perſian army commanded by Datis conſiſted of a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. That of the Athenians amounted in all but to ten thouſand men. This had ten generals, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and theſe ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, one after another. There was a great diſpute among theſe officers, whether they ſhould hazard a battle, or expect the enemy within their walls. The latter opinion had a great majority, and appeared very reaſonable. For, what appearance of ſucceſs could there be in facing with a handful of ſoldiers, ſo numerous and formidable an army as that of the Perſians? Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and ſhowed, that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to ſtrike a terror into thoſe of the enemy, was to advance boldly towards them with an air of confidence and intrepidity. Ariſtides ſtrenuouſly defended this opinion, and brought ſome of the other commanders into it, ſo that when the ſuffrages came to be taken, they were equal on both ſides of the queſtion. Hereupon Miltiades addreſſed himſelf to Callimachus, who was then * Polemarch, and had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders. He very warmly repreſented to him, that the fate of their country was then in his hands; and that his ſingle vote was to determine, whether Athens ſhould preſerve her liberty, or be enſlaved: and that he had it in his power by one word to become as famous as Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the authors of that liberty which the Athenians enjoyed. Callimachus pronounced that word in favour of Miltiades's opinion. And accordingly a battle was reſolved upon.

Ariſtides reflecting, that a command which changes every day muſt neceſſarily be feeble, unequal, not of a piece, often

* The Polemarch at Athens was both an officer and a conſiderable magiſtrate, equally employed to command in the army, and to adminiſter juſtice. I ſhall give a larger account of this office in another place.

contrary to itſelf, and incapable either of projecting, or executing any uniform deſign, was of opinion that their danger was both too great and too preſſing for them to expoſe their affairs to ſuch inconveniencies. In order to prevent them, he judged it neceſſary to veſt the whole power in one ſingle perſon: and to induce his colleagues to act conformably, he himſelf ſet the firſt example of reſignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to take upon him the command, he reſigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general. The other commanders did the ſame, all ſentiments of jealouſy giving way to the love of the public good: and by this day's behaviour we may learn, that it is almoſt as glorious to acknowledge merit in other perſons, as to have it in one's ſelf. Miltiades however thought fit to wait till his own day came. Then, like an able captain, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground, to gain what he wanted in ſtrength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy ſhould not be able either to ſurround him, or charge him in the rear. On the two ſides of his army he cauſed large trees to be thrown, which were cut down on purpoſe, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Perſian cavalry uſeleſs. Datis, their commander, was very ſenſible that the place was not advantageous for him; but relying upon the number of his troops, which was infinitely ſuperior to that of the Athenians; and, on the other hand, not being willing to ſtay till the reinforcement of the Spartans arrived, he determined to engage. The Athenians did not wait for the enemy's charging them. As ſoon as the ſignal of battle was given, they ran againſt the enemy with all the fury imaginable. The Perſians looked upon this firſt ſtep of the Athenians as a piece of madneſs, conſidering their army was ſo ſmall, and utterly deſtitute both of cavalry and archers: but they were quickly undeceived. Herodotus obſerves, that this was the firſt time the Grecians began an engagement by running in this manner, which may ſeem ſomewhat aſtoniſhing. And, indeed, was there not reaſon to apprehend, that their running would, in ſome meaſure, weaken the troops, and blunt the edge of their firſt impetuoſity; and that the ſoldiers, having quitted their ranks, might be out of breath, ſpent, and in

diſorder, when they came to the enemy, who, waiting to receive them in good order and without ſtirring, ought, one would think, to be in a condition to ſuſtain their charge advantageouſly? [e] This conſideration engaged Pompey at the battle of Pharſalia, to keep his troops in a ſteady poſture, and to forbid them making any motion till the enemy made the firſt attack: [f] but Cæſar* blames Pompey's conduct in this reſpect, and gives this reaſon for it: that the impetuoſity of an army's motion in running to engage, inſpires the ſoldiers with a certain enthuſiaſm and martial fury, and it gives an additional force to their blows, and that it increaſes and inflames their courage, which, by the rapid movement of ſo many thouſand men together, is blown up and animated, to uſe the expreſſion, like flames by the wind. I leave it to the gentlemen who profeſs arms, to decide the point between thoſe two great captains, and return to my ſubject.

The battle was very fierce and obſtinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding ſtrong, but had left the main body more weak, and not ſo deep; the reaſon of which ſeems manifeſt enough. Having but ten thouſand men to oppoſe ſuch a numerous and vaſt army, it was impoſſible for him either to make a large front, or to give an equal depth to his battalions. He was obliged therefore to take his choice; and he imagined, that he could gain the victory no otherwiſe, than by the efforts he ſhould make by his two wings, in order to break and diſperſe thoſe of the Perſians; not doubting but, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the enemy's main body in flank, and complete the victory without much difficulty. This was the ſame plan as Hannibal followed afterwards at the battle of Cannæ, which ſucceeded ſo well with him, and which indeed can ſcarce ever fail of ſucceeding. The Per-

[e] Cæſ. in Bell. Civil. l. iii. [f] Plut. in Pomp. p. 656. & in Cæſ p. 719.

* *Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum à Pompeio videtur: propterea quod eſt quædam incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quæ ſtudiò pugnæ incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, ſed augere imperatores debent.* Cæs.

Καισαρ περι τυτο διαμαρτειν φησι τον Πομπηιον, αγνοησαντα, την μετα δρομυ καὶ φοβεραν εν αρχη γινομενην συρραξιν, ως εντε ταις πληγαις βιαν προσιθησι, καὶ συνεκκαιει τον θυμον εκ παντων συναρπιζομενον. PLUT. in Cæſ.

ſians then attacked the main body of the Grecian army, and made their greateſt effort particularly upon the front. This was led by Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, who ſupported it a long time with an intrepid courage and bravery, but were at length obliged to give ground. At that very inſtant came up their two victorious wings, which had defeated thoſe of the enemy, and put them to flight. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable for the main body of the Grecian army, which began to be broken, being quite borne down by the number of Perſians. The ſcale was quickly turned, and the Barbarians were entirely routed. They all betook themſelves to their heels and fled, not towards their camp, but to their ſhips, that they might make their eſcape. The Athenians purſued them thither, and ſet many of their veſſels on fire. On this occaſion it was, that Cynægyrus, the brother of the poet Æſchylus, who laid hold of one of the ſhips, in order to get into it with thoſe that fled*, had his right hand cut off, and fell into the ſea and was drowned. The Athenians took ſeven of their ſhips. They had not above two hundred men killed on their ſide in this engagement; whereas on the ſide of the Perſians above ſix thouſand were ſlain, without reckoning thoſe who fell into the ſea, as they endeavoured to eſcape, or thoſe that were conſumed with the ſhips ſet on fire.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That ungrateful and perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjuſt dominion uſurped by his father Piſiſtratus over the Athenians, had the baſeneſs to become a ſervile courtier to a barbarian prince, and to implore his aid againſt his native country. Urged on by hatred and revenge, he ſuggeſted all the means he could invent to load his country with chains; and even put himſelf at the head of its enemies, with deſign to reduce that city to aſhes to which he owed his birth, and againſt which he had no other ground of complaint, than that ſhe would not acknowledge him for her tyrant. An ignomi-

* Juſtin adds, that Cynægyrus having firſt had his right and then his left hand cut off with an axe, laid hold of the veſſel with his teeth, and would not let go, ſo violent was his rage againſt the enemy: this account is utterly fabulous, and has not the leaſt appearance of truth in it.

nious death, together with everlaſting infamy entailed upon his name, was the juſt reward of ſo black a treachery.

[g] Immediately after the battle, an Athenian ſoldier, ſtill reeking with the blood of the enemy, quitted the army, and ran to Athens to carry his fellow-citizens the happy news of the victory. When he arrived at the magiſtrate's houſe, he only uttered two or three words, "* Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours," and fell down dead at his feet.

[h] The Perſians had thought themſelves ſo ſure of victory, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy there. The Grecians took this marble, and cauſed a ſtatue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddeſs † Nemeſis, who had a temple near the place where the battle was fought.

The Perſian fleet, inſtead of ſailing by the iſlands, in order to re-enter Aſia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the deſign of ſurpriſing Athens, before the Athenian forces ſhould arrive there to defend the city. But the latter had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes to ſecure their country, and performed their march with ſo much expedition, that they arrived there the ſame day. The diſtance from Marathon to Athens is about forty miles, or fifteen French leagues. This was a great deal for an army that had juſt undergone a long and rude battle. By this means the deſigns of their enemies miſcarried.

Ariſtides, the only general that ſtayed at Marathon with his tribe, to take care of the ſpoil and priſoners, acted ſuitably to the good opinion that was entertained of him. For, though gold and ſilver were ſcattered about in abundance in the enemy's camp, and though all the tents as well as galleys that were taken, were full of rich clothes and coſtly furniture, and treaſure of all kinds to an immenſe value, he not only was not tempted to touch any of it himſelf, but hindered every body elſe from touching it.

[g] Plut. de glor. Athen. p 347. [h] Pauſan. l. i. p. 62.

* Χαιρετε, Χαιρεμεν. I could not render the livelineſs of the Greek expreſſion in our language.

† This was the goddeſs, whoſe buſineſs was to puniſh injuſtice and oppreſſion.

As ſoon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thouſand men; and, having travelled with all imaginable expedition, arrived in Attica after three days hard marching; the length of the way, from Sparta to Attica, was no leſs than twelve hundred ſtadia, or one hundred and fifty Engliſh miles. [i] The battle was fought the day before they arrived: however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies and riches. After having congratulated the Athenians on the happy ſucceſs of the battle, they returned to their own country.

They were hindered by a fooliſh and ridiculous ſuperſtition from having a ſhare in the moſt glorious action recorded in hiſtory. For it is almoſt without example, that ſuch a handful of men, as the Athenians were, ſhould not only make head againſt ſo numerous an army as that of the Perſians, but ſhould entirely rout and defeat them. One is aſtoniſhed to ſee ſo formidable a power attack ſo ſmall a city and miſcarry; and we are almoſt tempted to diſbelieve the truth of an event that appears ſo improbable, and which nevertheleſs is very certain and unqueſtionable. This battle alone ſhows what wonderful things may be performed by an able general, who knows how to take his advantages; by the intrepidity of ſoldiers, who are not afraid of death; by a zeal for one's country; the love of liberty; a hatred and deteſtation of ſlavery and tyranny; which were ſentiments natural to the Athenians; but undoubtedly very much augmented and inflamed in them by the very preſence of Hippias, whom they dreaded to have again for their maſter, after all that had paſſed between them.

[k] Plato, in more places than one, makes it his buſineſs to extol the battle of Marathon, and is for having that action conſidered as the ſource and original cauſe of all the victories that were gained afterwards. It was undoubtedly this victory that deprived the Perſian power of that terror which had rendered them ſo formidable, and made every thing ſtoop before them: it was this victory that taught the Grecians to know their own ſtrength, and not to tremble before

[i] Iſocr. in Panegr. p. 113.

[k] In Menex. p. 239, 240. Et. lib. de Leg. p. 698, & 699.

an enemy, terrible only in name; that made them find by experience, that victory does not depend ſo much upon the number, as the courage of troops; that ſet before their eyes in a moſt conſpicuous light, the glory there is in ſacrificing one's life in the defence of our country, and for the preſervation of liberty; and laſtly, that inſpired them, through the whole courſe of ſucceeding ages, with a noble emulation and warm deſire to imitate their anceſtors, and not to degenerate from their virtue. For on all important occaſions, it was cuſtomary among them to put the people in mind of Miltiades and his invincible troop, that is, of a little army of heroes, whoſe intrepidity and bravery had done ſo much honour to Athens.

[1] Thoſe that were ſlain in the battle had all the honour immediately paid to them that was due to their merit. Illuſtrious monuments were erected to them all in the very place where the battle was fought; upon which their own names and that of their tribes were recorded. There were three diſtinct ſets of monuments ſeparately ſet up, one for the Athenians, another for the Platæans, and a third for the ſlaves, whom they had admitted among their ſoldiers on that occaſion. Miltiades's tomb was erected afterwards in the ſame place.

[m] The reflection Cornelius Nepos makes upon what the Athenians did to honour the memory of their general, deſerves to be taken notice of. Formerly, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Romans, our anceſtors rewarded virtue by marks of diſtinction, that were not ſtately or magnificent, but ſuch as were rarely granted, and for that very reaſon were highly eſteemed; whereas now they are ſo profuſely beſtowed, that little or no value is ſet upon them. The ſame thing happened, adds he, among the Athenians. All the honour that was paid to Miltiades, the great deliverer of Athens and of all Greece, was, that in a picture of the battle of Marathon, drawn by order of the Athenians, he was repreſented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the ſoldiers, and ſetting them an example of their duty. But this ſame people, in later ages, being grown more powerful,

[1] Pauſ. in Attic. p. 60, 61. [m] Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vi.

and corrupted by the flatteries of their orators, decreed three hundred ſtatues to Demetrius Phalereus.

[n] Plutarch makes the ſame reflection, and wiſely obſerves, that the *honour which is paid to great men ought not to be looked upon as the reward of their illuſtrious actions, but only as a mark of the eſteem of them, whereof ſuch monuments are intended to perpetuate the remembrance. It is not then the ſtateline ſs or magnificence of public monuments, which gives them their value, or makes them durable, but the ſincere gratitude of thoſe that erect them. The three hundred ſtatues of Demetrius Phalereus were all thrown down even in his own lifetime, but the picture, in which Miltiades's courage was repreſented, was preſerved many ages after him.

[o] This picture was kept at Athens in a gallery, adorned and enriched with different paintings, all excellent in their kind, and done by the greateſt maſters; which for that reaſon was called ποικιλη, ſignifying varied and diverſified. The celebrated Polygnotus, a native of the iſle of Thaſos, and one of the fineſt painters of his time, painted this picture, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it; and, as he valued himſelf upon his honour, and was more attached to glory than intereſt, he did it *gratis*, and would not receive any recompence for it. The city of Athens therefore rewarded him with a ſort of coin, that was more acceptable to his taſte, by procuring an order from the Amphyctions to appoint him a public lodging in the city, where he might live during his own pleaſure.

[p] The gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades was of no very long duration. After the battle of Marathon, he deſired and obtained the command of a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, in order to puniſh and ſubdue the iſlands that had favoured the Barbarians. Accordingly he reduced ſeveral of them: but having had ill ſucceſs in the iſle of Paros, and, upon a falſe report of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, having raiſed the ſiege which he had laid to the capital city, wherein he

[n] In præc. de rep. ger. p. 820. [o] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 9.

[p] Herod. l. v. c. 132, & 136. Cor. Nep. in Milt. c. vii. & viii.

*Ου γαρ μισθον ειναι δει της πραξεως, αλλα συμβολον, την τιμην ινα ϗ διαμενη πολλων χρονων.

had received a very dangerous wound, he returned to Athens with his fleet, and was there impeached by a citizen, called Xanthippus, who accuſed him of having raiſed the ſiege through treachery, and in conſideration of a great ſum of money given him by the king of Perſia. As little probability as there was in this accuſation, it nevertheleſs took place againſt the merit and innocence of Miltiades. [q] He was condemned to loſe his life, and to be thrown into the Barathrum; a ſentence paſſed only upon the greateſt criminals and malefactors. The magiſtrate oppoſed the execution of ſo unjuſt a condemnation. All the favour ſhown to this preſerver of his country, was to have the ſentence of death commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, or fifty thouſand crowns French money, being the ſum to which the expences of the fleet, that had been equipped upon his ſolicitation and advice, amounted. Not being rich enough to pay this ſum, he was put into priſon, where he died of the wound he had received at Paros. Cimon, his ſon, who was at this time very young, ſignalized his piety on this occaſion, as we ſhall find in the ſequel he did his courage afterwards. He purchaſed the permiſſion of burying his father's body, by paying the fine of fifty thouſand crowns, in which he had been condemned; which ſum the young man raiſed as well as he could, by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations.

Cornelius Nepos obſerves, that what chiefly induced the Athenians to act in this manner, with regard to Miltiades, was only his merit and great reputation, which made the people, who were but lately delivered, from the yoke of ſlavery under Piſiſtratus, apprehend that Miltiades who had been tyrant before in the Cherſoneſus, might effect the ſame at Athens. * They therefore choſe rather to puniſh an innocent perſon, than to be under perpetual apprehenſions of him. To this ſame principal was the inſtitution of the oſtraciſm at Athens owing. [r] I have elſewhere given an account of the moſt plauſible reaſons upon which the oſtraciſm could be founded: but I do not ſee how we can fully juſtify

[q] Plut. in Georg. p 519. [r] Man. d'Etud. Tom. iii. p. 407.

* *Hæc populus reſpiciens maluit eum innocentem plecti, quàm ſe diutius eſſe in timore.*

ſo ſtrange a policy, to which all merit becomes ſuſpected, and virtue itſelf appears criminal.

[s] This appears plainly in the baniſhment of Ariſtides. His inviolable attachment to juſtice obliged him on many occaſions to oppoſe Themiſtocles, who did not pique himſelf upon his delicacy in that reſpect, and who ſpared no intrigues and cabals to engage the ſuffrages of the people for removing a rival who always oppoſed his ambitious deſigns. * This is a ſtrange inſtance, that a perſon may be ſuperior in merit and virtue, without being ſo in credit. The impetuous eloquence of Themiſtocles bore down the juſtice of Ariſtides, and occaſioned his baniſhment. In this kind of trial the citizens gave their ſuffrages by writing the name of the accuſed perſon upon a ſhell, called in Greek ὄστρακον, from whence came the term oſtraciſm. On this occaſion a peaſant, who could not write and did not know Ariſtides, applied to himſelf, and deſired him to put the name of Ariſtides upon his ſhell. "Has he done you any wrong," ſaid Ariſtides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" —"No," replied the other, "I do not ſo much as know him; but I am quite tired and angry with hearing every body call him *the Juſt*." Ariſtides, without ſaying a word more, calmly took the ſhell, wrote his own name in it, and returned it. He ſet out for his baniſhment, imploring the gods that no accident might befal his country to make it regret him. The † great Camillus, in a like caſe, did not imitate his generoſity, and prayed to a quite different effect, deſiring the gods to force his ungrateful country by ſome misfortune to have occaſion for his aid, and recal him as ſoon as poſſible.

[t] O happy republic, cries out Valerius Maximus, ſpeaking of Ariſtides's baniſhment, which, after having ſo baſely treated the moſt virtuous man it ever produced, has ſtill been able to find citizens zealouſly and faithfully attached

[s] Plut. in Ariſt. p. 322, 323. [t] Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

* *In his cognitum eſt, quanto antiſtaret eloquentia innocentiæ. Quanquam enim adeo excellebat Ariſtides abſtinentia, ut unus poſt hominum memorium, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Juſtus ſit appellatus; tamen à Themiſtocle collabefactus teſtulâ illâ exilio decem annorum multatus eſt.* Corn. Nep. in Ariſt.

† *In exilium abiit, precatus ab diis immortalibus, ſi exilio ſibi ea injuria fierit, prima quoque tempore deſiderium ſui civitati ingratæ facerent.* Liv. l. v. n. 32.

to her ſervice! *Felices Athenas, quæ poſt illius exilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum, aut amantem ſui civem potuerunt; cum quo tunc ipſa ſanctitas migravit!*

SECT. VIII. *Darius reſolves to make War in Perſon againſt Egypt and againſt Greece: is prevented by Death. Diſpute between two of his Sons, concerning the Succeſſion to the Crown. Xerxes is choſen King.*

[u] WHEN Darius received the news of the defeat of his army at Marathon, he was violently enraged; and that bad ſucceſs was ſo far from diſcouraging or diverting him from carrying on the war againſt Greece, that it only ſerved to animate him to purſue it with the greater vigour, in order to be revenged at the ſame time for the burning of Sardis, and for the diſhonour incurred at Marathon. Being thus determined to march in perſon with all his forces, he diſpatched orders to all his ſubjects in the ſeveral provinces of his empire to arm themſelves for this expedition.

After having ſpent three years in making the neceſſary preparations, he had another war to carry on, occaſioned by the revolt of Egypt. It ſeems from what we read in [x] Diodorus Siculus, that Darius went thither himſelf to quell it, and that he ſucceeded. The hiſtorian relates that upon this prince's deſiring to have his ſtatue placed before that of Seſoſtris, the chief prieſt of the Egyptians told him, *he had not yet equalled the glory of that conqueror*; and that the king, without being offended at the Egyptian prieſt's freedom, made anſwer, that he would endeavour to ſurpaſs it. Diodorus adds further, that Darius, deteſting the impious cruelty which his predeceſſor Cambyſes had exerciſed in that country, expreſſed great reverence for their gods and temples; that he had ſeveral converſations with the Egyptian prieſts upon matters of religion and government; and that having learnt of them, with what gentleneſs their ancient kings uſed to treat their ſubjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Perſia, to form himſelf upon their model. But [y] Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this

[u] Herod. l. vii. c. 1. [x] Lib. i. p. 54, & 85. [y] Lib. vi. c. 2.

particular than Diodorus, only obſerves, that this prince reſolving at once to chaſtiſe his revolted ſubjects, and to be avenged of his ancient enemies, determined to make war againſt both at the ſame time, and to attack Greece in perſon with the groſs of his army, whilſt the reſt of it was employed in the reduction of Egypt.

[a] According to an ancient cuſtom among the Perſians, their king was not allowed to go to war without having firſt named the perſon that ſhould ſucceed him in the throne; a cuſtom wiſely eſtabliſhed to prevent the ſtate's being expoſed to the troubles which generally attend the uncertainty of a ſucceſſor; to the inconveniencies of anarchy, and to the cabals of various pretenders. Darius, before he undertook his expedition againſt Greece, thought himſelf the more obliged to obſerve this rule, as he was already advanced in years, and as there was a difference between two of his ſons, upon the point of ſucceeding to the empire; which difference might occaſion a civil war after his death, if he left it undetermined. Darius had three ſons by his firſt wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all three born before their father came to the crown; and four more by Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after their father's acceſſion to the throne; Artabazanes, called by Juſtin Artemenes, was the eldeſt of the former, and Xerxes of the latter. Artabazanes alleged in his own behalf, that, as he was the eldeſt of all the brothers, the right of ſucceſſion, according to the cuſtom and practice of all nations, belonged to him preferably to all the reſt. Xerxes's argument was, that as he was the ſon of Darius by Atoſſa, the daughter of Cyrus, who founded the Perſian empire, it was more juſt that the crown of Cyrus ſhould devolve upon one of his deſcendants, than upon one who was not. Demaratus, a Spartan king, unjuſtly depoſed by his ſubjects, and at that time an exile at the court of Perſia, ſecretly ſuggeſted to Xerxes another argument to ſupport his pretenſions: that Artabazanes was indeed the eldeſt ſon of Darius, but he, Xerxes, was the eldeſt ſon of the king; and therefore, Artabazanes being born when his father was but a private perſon, all he could pretend to, on account

[a] Lib. vi. c. 2, & 3.

of his ſeniority, was only to inherit his private eſtate; but that he, Xerxes, being the firſt born ſon of the king, had the beſt right to ſucceed to the crown. He further ſupported this argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who admitted none to inherit the kingdom, but thoſe children that were born after their father's acceſſion. The right of ſucceeding was accordingly determined in favour of Xerxes.

* Juſtin[a] and Plutarch place this diſpute after Darius's deceaſe. They both take notice of the prudent conduct of theſe two brothers on ſo nice an occaſion. According to their manner of relating this fact, Artabazanes was abſent when the king died; and Xerxes immediately aſſumed all the marks, and exerciſed all the functions of the ſovereignty. But, upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and the tiara, which he wore in ſuch a manner as only ſuited the king, went out to meet him, and ſhowed him all imaginable reſpect. They agreed to make their uncle Artabanes the arbitrator of their difference, and without any further appeal, to acquieſce in his deciſion. All the while this diſpute laſted, the two brothers ſhowed one another all the demonſtrations of a truly fraternal friendſhip, by keeping up a continual intercourſe of preſents and entertainments, from whence their mutual eſteem and confidence for each other baniſhed all their fears and ſuſpicions on both ſides; and introduced an unconſtrained cheerfulneſs, and a perfect ſecurity. This is a ſpectacle, ſays Juſtin, highly worthy of our admiration: to ſee, while moſt brothers are at daggers drawing with one another about a ſmall patrimony, with what moderation and temper both waited for a deciſion, which was to diſpoſe of the greateſt empire then in the univerſe. When Artabanes gave judgment in favour of Xerxes, Artabazanes the ſame inſtant proſtrated himſelf before him, acknowledging him for his maſter, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand; by which

[a] Juſtin, l. ii. c. 10. Plut. de frat. amore, p. 448.

* *Adeò fraterna contentio fuit, ut nec victor inſultaverit, nec victus doluerit? ipſoque litis tempore invicem munera miſerint; jucunda quoque inter ſe non ſolum, ſed credula convivia habuerint: judicium quoque ipſum ſine arbitris, ſine conviciis fuerit. Tanto moderatiùs tum fratres inter ſe regna maxima dividebant, quam nunc exigua patrimonia partiuntur.* JUSTIN.

proceeding he ſhowed a greatneſs of ſoul truly royal, and infinitely ſuperior to all human dignities. This ready acquieſcence in a ſentence ſo contrary to his intereſts, was not the effect of an artful policy, that knows how to diſſemble upon occaſion, and to derive honour to itſelf from what it could not prevent: no; it proceeded from a real reſpect for the laws, a ſincere affection for his brother, and an indifference for that which ſo warmly inflames the ambition of mankind, and ſo frequently arms the neareſt relations againſt each other. For his part, during his whole life, he continued firmly attached to the intereſts of Xerxes, and proſecuted them with ſo much ardour and zeal, that he loſt his life in his ſervice at the battle of Salamin.

[b] At whatever time this diſpute is to be placed, it is evident Darius could not execute the double expedition he was meditating againſt Egypt and Greece; and that he was prevented by death from purſuing that project. He had reigned thirty-ſix years. The epitaph * of this prince, which contains a boaſt, that he could drink much without diſordering his reaſon, proves that the Perſians actually thought that circumſtance for their glory. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that Cyrus the younger aſcribes this quality to himſelf, as a perfection that rendered him more worthy of the throne than his elder brother. Who in theſe times would think of annexing this merit to the qualifications of an excellent prince?

This prince had many excellent qualities, but they were attended with great failings; and the kingdom felt the effects both of the one and the other. † For ſuch is the condition of princes, they never act nor live for themſelves alone. Whatever they are, either as to good or evil, they are for their people; and the intereſts of the one and the other are inſeparable. Darius had a great fund of gentleneſs, equity, clemency, and kindneſs for his people: he loved juſtice, and reſpected the laws: he eſteemed merit, and was careful to reward it: he was not jealous of his rank or authority, ſo as to exact a forced homage, or to render himſelf inacceſ-

[b] Herod. l. vi. c. 4.

* Ἡδυναμην χ᾽ οινον πινειν πολυν, χ᾽ τατον φερειν καλως. *Athen.* l. x. p. 434.

† *Ita nati eſtis, ut bona malaque veſtra ad remp. pertineant.* TACIT. l. iv. c 8.

ſible; and notwithſtanding his own great experience and abilities in public affairs, he would hearken to the advice of others, and reap the benefit of their counſels. It is of him the holy [c] Scripture ſpeaks, where it ſays, that he did nothing without conſulting the wiſe men of his court. He was not afraid of expoſing his perſon in battle, and was always cool even in the heat of action: [d] he ſaid of himſelf, that the moſt imminent and preſſing danger ſerved only to increaſe his courage and his prudence: in a word, there have been few princes more expert than he in the art of governing, or more experienced in the buſineſs of war. Nor was the glory of being a conqueror, if that may be called a glory, wanting to his character. For he not only reſtored and entirely confirmed the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much ſhaken by the ill conduct of Cambyſes and the Magian impoſtor; but he likewiſe added many great and rich provinces to it, and particularly India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the iſles contiguous to the coaſts of Ionia.

But ſometimes theſe good qualities of his gave way to failings of a quite oppoſite nature. Do we ſee any thing like Darius's uſual gentleneſs and good nature in his treatment of that unfortunate father, who deſired the favour of him to leave one of his three ſons at home, while the other two followed the king in his expedition? Was there ever an occaſion wherein he had more need of counſel than when he formed the deſign of making war upon the Scythians? And could any one give more prudent advice than what his brother gave him on that occaſion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole expedition any mark of wiſdom or prudence? What do we ſee in all that affair, but a prince intoxicated with his greatneſs, who fancies there is nothing in the world that can reſiſt him; and whoſe weak ambition to ſignalize himſelf by an extraordinary conqueſt, has ſtifled all the good ſenſe, judgment, and even military knowledge, he poſſeſſed before?

What conſtitutes the ſolid glory of Darius's reign is, his being choſen by God himſelf, as Cyrus had been before, to be the inſtrument of his mercies towards his people, the de-

[c] Eſth. i. 13. [d] Plut. in Apoph. p. 172.

clared protector of the Israelites, and the restorer of the temple at Jerusalem. The reader may see this part of his history in the book of Ezra, and in the writings of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.



END OF VOL. II.

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